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WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE CONQUERED ISLANDS?

BY SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

THE war with Spain, into which we have been drawn by a necessity we could not honorably avoid, which is imposed upon our country by a proper sense of humanity and the duty we owe to Christian civilization, is not likely to close without embracing a wider field than the establishment of free government in Cuba alone, and the control of that island by a people with whom we can live in peace and friendship, as near neighbors.

The resistance of Spain to our just demands for peace in Cuba has already lost to her the dominion over the Philippine Islands, and will remove her yoke from the Caroline Islands and from Cuba and Porto Rico. The prospect of this sweeping result, which is not likely to fail of complete accomplishment, brings into earnest, practical discussion the question, that is almost new in our history, as to the disposal that should be made of all these islands at the close of the war. If the United States, at that time, shall have the control of the destiny of these islands, the first view of the question of their disposal requires us to determine whether these islands should be returned to the dominion of the Spanish Crown.

If a revolution in Spain should establish a Republic there, the

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principles of constitutional government which may be adopted by the Spanish people may accord to these islands the full liberty of local self-government, so well secured to them as to remove the tyrannical domination that the Monarchy has employed to crush them with oppressions that no people should be compelled to endure. In such an event, the Republic of Spain might consist of a confederation of sovereign states, such as the States of the American Union, into which the people of the insular countries might freely choose to enter. With "indemnity for the past and security for the future," such a result would gratify the American people.

Spain could have restored peace to Cuba at any time by the declaration of its independence, and could have made with that republic most advantageous treaty arrangements. But the iron hand of the Monarchy refused to relax its grasp upon the power to rule and tax and destroy those people. The haughty pride of the Monarchy refused to bow to duty. Cupidity refused to yield to the pleadings of justice, and the ferocity of brutal power refused to stay its hand, on the demand of humanity.

If a true republic had existed in Spain, animated with respect for human rights and liberties, Cuba would have been set free, and the gratitude of the people for such a deliverance would have drawn them, with great rejoicings, into a Spanish federation of free republics, along with the other colonies in the East and West Indies.

The time has passed when such a federation is possible, and "the pride that goes before a fall" seems still rigid and unrelenting, and is leading Spain into the loss of all her colonial possessions. The United States would have welcomed such a deliverance for these oppressed people, and would have rejoiced in sacrifices for the holy cause of humanity and liberty. But that is now beyond hope. The situation unexpectedly imposes upon the American people a difficult and responsible task, in giving a proper direction to the future of these insular peoples, that are now left in a chaotic condition.

In Cuba, the people have been in close contact with our free, constitutional government, and many of their leading men have been educated in our schools. With such opportunities, they have acquired the capacity for just and enlightened self-government, and, upon that foundation, they have already established their

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infant republic amidst the throes of revolution, and have gathered around it in battle array and have sustained it, until it has grown into a power that commands the respect of the world, and will be established as a welcomed member of the family of nations.

Whether Cuba will ever enter into the union of American States, or will prefer to stand apart as a separate republic, will depend upon her free and voluntary election, but its union with our government will never be the result of compulsion. In her freedom there would still be an element of subordination, if Cuba does not possess and exercise the unconstrained right to control her own destiny.

In Porto Rico, the ability to sustain an independent government is more questionable, because her population cannot increase in so limited an area to the strength that is essential to independent statehood. Her geographical position is too important to distant nations, to admit of her separate independence. Unless Cuba and Porto Rico can be united into a republican federation, with advantage to both islands and with the free consent of their people, it is probable that the United States will protect the people of Porto Rico by including the island within the limits of a military outpost, while they will be left free to control their domestic affairs in their local councils. By making the ports of this island free to the commerce of all nations, except as to tonnage duties, or sound dues, no questions would be likely to arise with other countries for settlement that could not be properly disposed of by a commandant of a naval or military station.

The question of greatest difficulty that will be presented for solution by the United States at the close of the war with Spain will be the disposal of the Philippine and the Caroline Islands. In respect of all the islands from which Spanish power is expelled by our arms, there is a proper and necessary reservation, to be made at the proper time, of limited areas that will include certain bays and harbors that are best adapted to the purposes of military outposts, and for coaling stations and places of refuge for our warships and other national vessels.

It would be extreme folly to omit such provision for the security of our ships and the protection of our commerce in both the great oceans. If any of these islands are transferred to any government, local or foreign, such government should be bound by treaty stipulations to guarantee to the United States, against all

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comers, and with arms if necessary, the full and uninterrupted possession and control of suitable military reservations. The government of the Philippines, outside of such military reservations, is the weighty problem we must solve in our dealing with this novel situation.

The necessary care of our commercial affairs, and the defense of our coasts, will require the annexation of Hawaii, and the establishment of a naval station in Pango-Pango Bay, in Samoa, where we have this right, by treaty. A military post in the Philippines, connecting with these other islands and with Asia, would form a strategic situation of immense value in time of war, and would place us on an equal footing with all other powers in the control of the commerce of the Southern Pacific Ocean.

The distance of Hawaii from all other places, and its equidistant proximity to all points on our Pacific Coast, from the border of Mexico to the island of Attu, would give us the ascendency in sea power in the North Pacific, if not the supreme strategic control of that vast ocean area.

It may be considered inappropriate or immodest, even, that a republic should contemplate the possession of naval stations, in those seas where monarchic Europe has laid violent hands on all the islands, but we must respond, in our policies, to the energy with which our institutions have inspired our people in seeking wealth and commercial pursuits. Wheresoever our power may extend beyond our continental boundaries, it will be confined to the protection of the interests of our own people, by establishing such military outposts as will secure to them the full enjoyment of all their rights, and the liberty of commerce. The policy of colonization by conquest, or coercion, is repugnant to our national creed, which places the right of free self-government in supremacy over all other sovereign rights; and a colonial policy which discriminates between the rights of colonists, and those of the people who enjoy full citizenship in the United States, would be repugnant to the principles of our national Constitution.

In all the departments of our government, the laws of nations are adopted and admitted to be in force. They broaden the powers of the government to include whatever is in accordance with those laws. Broadly stated, the United States have as much rightful authority beyond their borders, as may be exerted by any other power.

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The limitations on the powers of our departments of government are intended to protect our people and the States against domestic usurpation or wrong, rather than to limit the national government in its dealings with foreign states or countries. The army and navy of the United States are not confined in their operations to the land or the water included in our territorial limits; and they may be used, in accordance with the laws of nations, in time of peace, or in war, to safeguard the rights of our people in any part of the world, when our laws so provide. In time of war, these powers are exercised in enforcing the martial law; and in time of peace, they may be exerted in the form of military government, acting in supervision, but in harmony with civil or municipal laws of the country held under military control. In our military reservations, the military arm is employed as an agency of civil government, and, in the necessary control of Indian tribes, the same principles of government obtain.

It must be conceded, under the laws of nations, and in accordance with the necessary authority of our national sovereignty, that we may lawfully govern the Philippine Islands, or any part of them that may come rightfully under our control as a result of war, by military authority, if we find it necessary for the wel fare of those people, or our own, so to govern them. In such an event, we should first set apart a special reservation of territory, under permanent military government, and fortify it as a naval station, giving to the people in such reservations the rights of citizenship of the United States, if they choose to accept them.

The question of the capacity of the people of the Philippine Islands to become a free and self-governing people can only be solved through the friendly offices of the United States, or of some just and liberal government, to direct and assist them in that course of development. It is too early now to venture upon a solution of the obvious difficulties that must attend their growth into a self-governing people, by any definite plan of procedure; but the example of Hawaii gives great encouragement to the philanthropist and the Christian who may look hopefully to the future of these people. When they are brought into living contact with the beneficent influences that have redeemed them from servile bondage to their oppressors and have elevated them to the possibilities of a true and enlightened civilization, they will accept the new situation cheerfully.

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Among the people in the Philippines, who belong to the subject races, the native Malays are the class who possess the greatest governing power. They comprise the rebel element who have had the fortitude to resist the oppressions of Spanish rule. They have a feeling of racial autonomy and self-reliance, and a strong desire for independence, as well as an indignant resentment towards their oppressors. The history of their wrongs and sufferings, during a long period of oppression, is far more aggravated than that of the Cubans. Their oppressors are strangers to them in blood and language, and are strangers to human sympathy, or forbearance, in their treatment of the Malays.

In mental endowments, and in physical stature and strength, the native people of these islands are by no means an inferior class. They are quite the equals of the Japanese, in natural powers; and, like the Hawaiians, to whom they bear a strong racial resemblance, they are of gentle disposition. They are fond of social enjoyments, such as music and singing, in which they have great skill, and are fond of agricultural pursuits, in which they excel. That such a people have fought the Spanish so bravely and for so many years is a proof of their virtue, as a race, which gives strong assurance that, under just government, they will grow into a strong, useful and happy nation. Of the ten or twelve hundred islands that constitute this great archipelago, only a few have been explored by white men.

Since the earliest Spanish occupancy, which has only been a thin fringe about the coasts and harbors, the natives in the interior have lived in constant rebellion towards the foreign usurpers. They have had no government which they willingly recognized, and little hope of any form of union; and their separation into groups, corresponding with the insular divisions of their country, has excited local jealousies and has estranged them from each other; and, like our Indian tribes, they have had many internecine wars. Like the Hawaiians, until they were subjugated by a great chieftain, Kamehameha I., the inhabitants of each island have been strongly addicted to warfare against the others. If they had a government that commanded their honest allegiance, they would become united, as the Hawaiians are; and, upon the basis of that union, would be laid the foundations of a free constitutional government, like the Republic of Hawaii, than which there is no better government in the world.

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It is not aside from the line of just reasoning and deduction, nor is it a mere conjecture, to attribute to the freedom of religion, or to expect from the labors of the American missionary, an influence in the regeneration of the Philippines, that was the most efficient cause of the elevation of the Hawaiians to the dignity of a self-governing and educated Christian people. The same conditions will assuredly bring about like results in the Philippines.

The government of the United States took no active part in promoting the regeneration of Hawaii, and it will not inaugurate or support a propaganda in the Philippines, either political or religious; but it should not deny to itself the right to give its encouragement to good government in those islands, or to give to those people proper support against the unjust invasion of their rights by foreign powers. The fortunes of war have devolved this duty upon us.

Annexation will not be a necessary or proper result of such moral or actual protection, because the United States is an American power, with high national duties that are, in every sense, American; and the Philippines are not within the sphere of American political influence, but are Asiatic, and should remain Asiatic.

All the American States are Christian, and, in nearly all of them, the political relations are dissolved between the Church and the State, so that religion is free and untrammelled. In the Eastern Hemisphere, the reverse condition has always been a source of discord that is apparently ineradicable. Freedom of religious opinion and conduct, under proper regulation, is an essential element in a true republic. Until this impediment is removed, which cannot be done by mere political agencies, a republic like ours would find a barrier to the annexation of European or Asiatic countries, which we could not attempt to surmount without danger to our own government. All the American States being Christian, and nearly all of them republican, it would be an uncongenial and dangerous situation if any of them should annex foreign territory having a people in authority who are antagonistic to both of these vital conditions.

The spread of republican institutions over new fields of endeavor must be a growth of reformation that is nurtured by the people concerned, and not a reformation by coercion that comes from the outside, and is supported by propagandists only. We have no justifiable motive, nor any compelling necessity for in-

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cluding the Philippines, or the Caroline Islands, within our territorial limits, unless that is the only feasible way of saving those people from destruction; or, unless those islands become indispensable to our national safety.

The United States cannot accept the surrender of the Philippines from Spain, and then consent that they shall be restored to the Spanish Crown, under any conditions. The people of the United States are not inimical to Spanish people. The history of the Latin states of America is full of proofs that we have towards Spaniards a sincere sentiment of respect and regard. It is the Bourbon rule in Spain that has incurred the hostility of the American people. The reason for this displeasure was developed in the early days of the republic, through the wrongs inflicted by the Spanish dynasty, first upon the native people, and then upon all except the favored subjects of the Crown, in the Spanish-American colonies.

Through long forbearance, and the silent toleration of these wrongs by the United States, Spain has presumed upon our pacific intentions until we have been forced to demand the reign of peace and humanity in Cuba, as it was demanded by all the other Spanish Colonies in the first quarter of this century. It was not until the atrocities of the Monarchy had culminated in the extermination of the natives by starvation and rapine, and had included citizens of the United States in the terrible "*bando*," now and hereafter to be described as Weylerism; and not until after our courtesy and benevolence were rewarded with the criminal destruction of the "Maine," that the United States asserted the common rights of humanity, and our national right to be rid of such a neighbor as the Spanish government in Cuba.

When the occasion has passed, and Cuba has been freed from the Monarchy, all Americans will welcome her people into the sisterhood of American States. That immense benefits will come to all the people of America by opening a new area to the blessing of free constitutional government, extending through all the Spanish possessions from Porto Rico to the Philippines, there can be no doubt; and this result will be the crowning glory of the war that is being waged with the most humane motives, and for the noblest purposes that ever inspired the action of a great nation.

We cannot honorably relax our efforts until this grand result is accomplished, and we have the just right to the enjoyment of

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the increased commercial advantages that we will share, under fair competition, with the world.

It is a new and inviting field for American enterprise and influence that opens Porto Rico, Cuba, the Isthmian Canal, Hawaii, the Caroline and the Philippine Islands to fair trade and good government; and we shall need only the good will of those people to secure to us a just participation in its advantages.

This is an alluring field for conquest and dominion, but no compulsion will be needed to hold it, beyond the temporary necessity of preserving the peace in these islands, until the rightful government of their people can be established on safe foundations. Conquest would dishonor our motives in waging war against Spain, if we should hold the subjugated islands only in trust for ourselves. Civilized and humane people throughout the world, and all the great powers, must, in justice, accord to the United States the most honorable sentiments and purposes in declaring war against Spain.

Other nations have no ground for interference that can relate to the causes of the war; and, so long as it is conducted in accordance with the laws of nations, their right of intervention can only be excused upon motives of compassion for the weaker combatant.

The United States will be the first to discern a situation that appeals to their forbearance. They do not ask other powers for assistance in a war that concerns their own sense of duty; and, in its prosecution, they will reckon only with the enemy, without consulting the ambitious purposes of any other power. It is the earnest desire and hope of the people and the government of the United States that, in this war, we shall never be required to send a fleet or an army to the coast of Spain.

When Spanish dominion is ended in the colonies that have been persecuted by the Spanish Crown, and the successor government has been rightfully established, the great purpose of this war will be accomplished; and Spain will be a wiser and happier nation for the reaction upon her domestic institutions, which will result in the reformation of her home government.

A country that cannot govern its colonies, so as to secure their peace and promote their prosperity, cannot be wronged, if it is compelled to relinquish its authority over them.

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THE OFFICERING AND ARMING OF VOLUNTEERS.

BY CAPTAIN JAMES PARKER, U. S. A.

THE most important detail, perhaps, in connection with the organization of our volunteer troops, is the development, selection and appointment of their officers.

At the beginning of the war with Mexico in 1846 we were able to officer our comparatively small force of raw troops very largely with graduates of the Military Academy, or with men who had obtained military training in our army. The troops being thus commanded by experienced soldiers were trained with thoroughness and despatch, and brought that war to a successful conclusion in a remarkably short space of time, considering the difficulties they had to encounter, and the preponderating forces arrayed against them. We are able to look back upon that campaign with intense pride, which is not diminished when we compare our experience in Mexico with that of the French army in the same country in 1863.

In the war of 1861–5, however, our experience was different. Owing to the fewness of our trained officers, and to the enormous numbers of troops we were obliged to raise for that conflict in the early part of the war, we had many regiments which, when organized, were found to contain absolutely no officers or men fitted for instructors. As from the nature of things, in the case of any future *levée en masse,* the time for preparation will be very short, disaster is liable to overtake us, if we do not have men who are able to command and quickly train raw troops.

Fortunately for this country, while we are debarred in time of peace from educating soldiers on as large a scale as prevails abroad, we are not prevented from educating officers, and of this fact it behooves us to take the utmost advantage.

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It is not to be doubted that, in case of attack or invasion, the patriotism and military spirit of our citizens would demand the immediate raising of an army sufficient in size for all possible contingencies, and that at least 400,000 men would thus be embodied in the ranks, in addition to our regular army and active militia. For such an army, calculating at the rate of an officer to twenty-five men, we should need 16,000 combatant officers. We may then safely say that 16,000 well-mustered officers should always be at our disposal, for even with this number we will be greatly inferior to other first-class, and even to second-class, nations in the number of available military organizers and drill instructors.

We will be able to obtain our officers and instructors from three different sources: (1.) From the Military Academy; (2.) from the Regular Army; (3.) from the National Guard.

The Military Academy, as a factor in our problem of national defence, has hardly received the attention it deserves. From the debates in Congress, the reports of the Secretaries of War, and the messages of the Presidents, in the early days of the Republic, it is clear that the Academy was intended, not so much to accomplish what at present is almost its sole function—to supply enough officers to fill the vacancies in the army—as to provide a reserve of officers, who in civil life would be always available to officer and train our raw levies. In 1815, with a population one-tenth the present census enumeration, the maximum number of cadets was fixed at 260, as against 371 to-day. Instead of increasing the size of the Military Academy as the needs of the country enlarged, its original purpose has been lost sight of, until now it is scarcely large enough to supply the ordinary vacancies. And this, in spite of the fact that the Academy costs annually little more than does a regiment of cavalry or infantry, while the benefit derived from it as a part of the army is a hundred-fold greater. Our history, as written by hosts of unprejudiced writers, will show that, as officers, instructors and disciplinarians, West Pointers, as a whole, are far superior to the military talent we can produce in any other way, and that they, more than any, are eminently suited to become the organizers of our volunteer armies. I will content myself with quoting General Scott, one of our greatest soldiers, who, not himself a West Pointer, said: "I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets

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the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, whereas, in two campaigns, we conquered a great country without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

We have now perhaps 1,450 graduates who would be available in time of war, of whom about 1,300 are in the army. Instead of limiting ourselves to this restricted number, it would be well if 8,000 of the 16,000 trained officers and instructors required for volunteers were graduates of a National Military Academy. This could be accomplished in a few years by increasing the number of cadets authorized by law from 371 to 2,200, and this in turn could be done by providing three Academies, the existing one at West Point and two others. The fact that all these cadets would not remain in the army would not affect the efficiency of their instruction any more than like conditions have affected the value of the training given at the Naval Academy.

In return for his education the graduate of the Military Academy should always be at the service of the government, and this should be made a matter of law as well as of sentiment. To keep alive their interest in military science, the government should organize a reserve of officers, to which all graduates of the Military Academies not in the army should belong. In this reserve officers should serve without pay, being indemnified therefor, and for their temporary exclusion from active service, by promotion (after examination) at stated periods. This reserve of officers is of the utmost importance as a necessary adjunct in our system of national defense.

Another source from which we may gain our instruction of volunteers is the ranks of the regular army.

It is well known that in recent years the class of men enlisting in the regular army has greatly improved. Much of this improvement is due to improved conditions (food, clothing, barracks, etc.), though it is partly due to the fact that promotion from the ranks has become a common occurrence. In our army of 25,000 men we probably discharge, on expiration of the three years' term of service, about 6,000 men per year, of whom perhaps, 1,000 are non-commissioned officers. A large proportion of these soldiers are very intelligent; all have received a thorough and complete military training. Of the non-commissioned

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officers many are eminently fitted as instructors and officers of volunteers. We commit a great fault, and one that will not fail to be serious in its consequences, in not developing this talent and making it available. Any non-commissioned officer or man who shows ability as a drill master should receive credit for it and be given a parchment certificate to that effect, signed by his company commander, who should be required to state his relative proficiency as an instructor in the school of the soldier, school of the company, etc., marching, camping, cooking, target practice, guard duty, etc. In order to give more non-commissioned officers, or men, experience and confidence in drilling, recruits, as far as possible, should be drilled in their own companies, and non-commissioned officers rotate as instructors. In the non-commissioned officer's record in the description book, should be noted, at the time, any tours of duty as drill instructor, with the proficiency attained. In case any non-commissioned officer is believed on discharge to be competent to act as a subaltern officer of volunteers, he should be given a practical and theoretical examination by a board of officers, who should sign a further certificate to that effect. These certificates should be registered at Washington, where the man's address should be preserved.

All this can be accomplished with ease, without resort to Congress, by a simple order of the War Department. The military talent developed in our army would then be made available in time of war. Certificates as instructors would bring warrants as non-commissioned officers in the volunteers to discharged men. Certificates of competency as instructors and as subaltern officers would go far toward securing commissions. Such certificates would be highly prized by the recipients, and would surely be recognized by governors or volunteer officers. It is well known that in 1861 non-commissioned officers of the regular army were in great demand as instructors of volunteers.

It is to be deplored that so many highly competent men have been hitherto discharged from the army without any such recognition of their peculiar talents, so valuable in time of war. The privilege of receiving the certificates I recommend might well be extended, however, to men who have been discharged, and who, having applied for them, are found competent by boards.

Such a system would be advantageous to the regular army, by causing what is now often a distasteful task to be sought by

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non-commissioned officers and privates; and by developing talent which is now latent or not apparent; and it would also result in the more thorough instruction of our regular army recruits. It would further establish as a principle, which is not now clearly recognized, that one important feature of our regular army is to spread abroad military acquirement which will be available in time of war. Discharged non-commissioned officers of superior ability, who have been unable, on account of age or other reasons not affecting their efficiency, to obtain commissions in the army, should have the privilege of applying for and obtaining, after passing proper examinations, commissions in the reserve of officers recommended in connection with an increase of the Military Academy.

Another source from which we will, in time of war, obtain officers and instructors for our raw levies is the National Guard.

It is not to be expected that we can obtain as uniformly competent instructors from this source as from the Military Academy or the regular army. There is, unfortunately, much variation in the degrees of thoroughness attained in training and discipline by different regiments of the National Guard and in different States. In some organizations, false ideas of discipline are allowed to be accepted that would rather detract from the value of the men as volunteers. In many cases the military instruction received is exceedingly limited, not extending beyond a mere smattering of the schools of the soldier, company, and battalion, and a little guard duty wretchedly performed. By becoming accustomed to seeing military duty performed in a shiftless and careless manner, the experience of many is likely to unfit them for a time as soldiers when fighting is imminent and the time for nonsense is over.

But, fortunately, such conditions may be said to be the exception and not the rule. Within the limited range of their military functions, the officers usually are noted for a zealous performance of duty under conditions not always favorable. The ranks contain multitudes of young men who are enthusiastic soldiers, and zealous students of military science, as far as their opportunities go, and with talents and abilities that would, were they to obtain commissions, convert them very quickly into efficient officers. In the crack organizations the influential position, social and otherwise, of many of the men in the ranks

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makes it certain that they would in time of war at once obtain commissions. It is, indeed, a pity that the desire of these young men to extend their military acquirements is not better rewarded, that the long tenure in office of the officers and non-commissioned officers of militia makes promotion slow, and that many do not ever gain that confidence which is only to be acquired by command. To extend the instruction of the future officers of volunteers who may be now serving in the National Guard, the general government should use every effort. Only the most active and competent officers of the regular army should be detailed for duty with the militia. Combined encampments of regulars and militia, like those at Aldershot in England, should be fostered; theoretical instruction for officers and men, by lectures delivered by our best military talent, should be furnished. It has been wisely suggested that tuition at our schools of application might well be afforded to a limited number of officers of the National Guard. It might be further recommended that, for such members of the National Guard as wish to fit themselves as officers of volunteers, and are unable to leave their homes, the United States may inaugurate a course of tuition by correspondence, similar to the Chautauqua system. Further, to promote military study by ambitious members of the National Guard, it would not be out of the power of the general government to detail boards of examination, composed of officers of the regular army, empowered to issue certificates of fitness, as officers of volunteers, to such non-commissioned officers or men of the National Guard as can pass an examination akin to the prescribed practical and theoretical examination for promotion to the grade of first lieutenant of the army.

The troops of militia cavalry, composed of men of assured position, recently organized in many of our large cities, should have as their principal function the development and schooling of officers.

To sum up: So long as war is a possibility, we must be convinced that the most important function of the National Guard is to develop officers of volunteers for that war, and every effort should be made by the United States to improve the National Guard as a school of instruction.

The officers of the regiments of volunteers raised during the war of 1861–5, received their commissions from the governors of

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the States in which the volunteers were raised. This practice was confirmed by orders from the War Department, and the exercise of the appointing power would probably be tenaciously held on to by the States in any future war. By War Department orders such officers were required to undergo certain prescribed examinations, and in case of failure their commissions were vacated. Such should be the rule in future.

Promotions by seniority in the company and regiment were the rule. The system of promotion now in vogue in the regular army is hardly applicable to the volunteers. Companies are raised usually in one township or county. The men know each other and are acquainted with their officers, either personally or by reputation. They have enlisted together, and they expect to stand or fall together. The same is true in a less degree of regiments. To appoint outsiders to vacancies in companies or regiments is found to be demoralizing.

In making original appointments of company officers it was the practice of governors, in many States to defer to a certain extent to the views and wishes of the men. Where officers of experience were available the men almost invariably selected them as their leaders. And when (as in 1861 was, unfortunately, more usual) such officers were not to be had, this method of selection was perhaps as safe as any other, and had, besides, the advantage in the sight of many of being considered in harmony with the spirit of our laws and institutions. As a popular measure it was undoubtedly efficacious in drawing volunteers more quickly into the ranks. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that we will not in future be obliged to recur to a measure so opposed to the prompt application of military discipline. The necessity for such methods would disappear were we to turn our attention systematically to training officers in the manner I have suggested. In such case there would be, in addition to the large body of officers of the National Guard, a military reserve of officers registered at the War Department, known in their communities, who by reason of their proved military knowledge would command the attention of all as competent leaders. Men will surrender even their elective principle for the assurance that they will be well led and properly taken care of. But to allow the elective principle to govern in the filling of vacancies occurring after the regiment is once organized, as is done in the militia of the States, should be condemned as

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fatal to proper discipline. Such places should be filled pursuant to the recommendation of the superior officers.

The mobilization of our volunteer armies consists mainly in organizing the staff of the various brigades, divisions and corps; detailing for this purpose the necessary chiefs and *personnel* of the quartermaster, subsistence, medical, ordnance, engineer, signal and other staff departments; in accumulating and distributing provisions, clothing, camp equipage, transportation, equipments, arms and ammunition; in organizing the wagon, pontoon, signal and ammunition trains, and in providing for the necessary movements of troops and supplies to the front.

It is well known that in April, 1861, the general government was unable to supply, without the delay required for their manufacture, either arms, ammunition, clothing or camp equipage, sufficient for the small army of 75,000 men then called into service. The States were, therefore, in great part compelled to equip their own troops, and many were even obliged to purchase arms and manufacture ammunition. Our supply departments were small and not organized in a suitable manner to meet the emergency; their officers were often timid about casting loose from the restrictions as to purchase, etc., which had grown up in time of peace, and the procurement of supplies, even where available, was hedged about with great obstacles and difficulties.

We may congratulate ourselves that there is a great improvement over the conditions that prevailed in 1861. That war is yet fresh in our minds, and the lessons taught by it will be of service for many years in any like emergency. Our staff departments are now organized on a scale more befitting mobilization; and their officers may be expected to renew the splendid record made later in that war, when it might be said that we had the best equipped and most efficiently supplied armies ever known in history. Thanks, too, to the patriotic policy which has prevailed since then of doing our own manufacturing, and to our enormous resources in raw materials, supplies will be immensely more abundant; provisions will not be wanting; medical material will be plentiful; blankets and shoes can be delivered at once or in a few days; uniforms, belts and knapsacks may be manufactured quickly; and by improvising wooden shelters in our State camps until tents can be manufactured, the training of our newly-raised troops may be commenced at once, without check or hindrance.

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In the matter of arms for our troops we are, we fear, not so fortunate. While it is most essential to the quick training of our volunteers that the moment they are raised the necessary small arms and ammunition should be placed in their hands, it is a grave question as to whether, with our present resources, this can be accomplished. It is true that a provision is made yearly, in the sums voted for the War Department, for the manufacture of a certain number of rifles and carbines to be accumulated as a reserve, but the provision is so small that the number necessary for the arming of, say, 400,000 or 500,000 men, cannot be expected to be reached for years to come. Inferior arms in sufficient number might be obtained, but it is of the greatest importance that our volunteers should not lack confidence in their weapons, and we can secure this end only by equipping them with arms of the latest accepted design. While it is true that a number of our private establishments would be able to turn out rifles of the proper calibre, yet it would take time to arrange their plant for the purpose; and, furthermore, it should not be forgotten that several of these manufacturing plants are on the seaboard, and thus peculiarly exposed to capture by an enemy strong on the sea. It would, therefore, seem that it is imperatively necessary to our national safety that we should have a reserve stock of half a million rifles and carbines.

The same is even more true as concerns the field guns for our batteries. In case of a great war to-morrow we should probably be obliged to arm more than half our batteries with muzzle loading cannon of a type abandoned by other civilized nations for over twenty years, and which are so far inferior to modern breech loaders in range and accuracy as to make comparison difficult. And while we can manufacture such guns elsewhere than at the government shops, it would require much time to complete the necessary number. It would be the policy of our enemies to strike quickly, and in case of a war with a strong sea power, with our greatest cities lying on our coast and thus exposed to capture, the last battle of the war might be over before the proper equipment of our regiments and batteries was completed. For a foreign enemy, having no possessions on this Continent, might be satisfied with the crippling of our navy and the levying of an enormous contribution on one of our rich seaboard cities or States; sailing away, he would be beyond reprisal.

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There is, therefore, no possible excuse for the failure of our government, or of any department of our government, to obtain, or to make effective provision for obtaining, at the first call to arms, a sufficient supply of field arms and small arms for an adequate field army.

As regards ammunition, it would seem to be necessary that large quantities should be kept on hand by the government, even at the risk of a slight deterioration; for the manufacturing plants will be severely taxed to turn out the enormous quantity that will be needed at once for the instruction of our troops; not to speak of the accumulation needed for the demands of fighting. A well-digested plan of ammunition supply in battle should be prepared in advance, so that ammunition trains, with all proper material and *personnel*, may be organized at once.

As regards the Adjutant-General's Department, it becomes clear, as we study the Civil War, that many of the blunders of that conflict, which cost so many lives, might have been prevented, were our generals provided with assistants well instructed in the higher branches of the art of war. It is for this reason that we should strive to have the number, size and scope of our schools of application increased, so that we may have plenty of officers fitted for these important duties.

It is evident that, in relying for our national defense on the volunteer system; in rejecting the policy of supporting an adequate standing army; and in deferring the training of our forces until war is actually declared, we have been running a terrible risk, in accepting which we are condemned by all the teachings of modern history, and only partially excused by our isolated position and our hitherto peaceful policy. It is equally evident that nothing but a catastrophe will change our present system. This being so, it should be the duty of the military department of our government, while loyally abiding by the choice of the people, to lessen this risk and ameliorate these conditions as far as possible, not only by inviting appropriate legislation, but also by using the opportunities we have now in our hands, without the aid of Congressional legislation, for preparing a body of instructors and a system of training that will as quickly as possible convert our raw troops into an efficient force.

JAMES PARKER.

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THE RELATION OF FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES TO THE COMMUNITY.*

BY HERBERT PUTNAM, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

FREE libraries have existed for less than half a century. Their establishment assumed that books are beneficial: but it involved also the assertion that it is the proper function of government to supply books to such of its citizens as may require them at the expense of the community as a whole.

Libraries of this special type do not yet form the major portion of the institutions supplying books on a large scale to groups of persons. Under the head of "Public, Society and School Libraries," these institutions in the United States aggregate 8,000 in number, with 35,000,000 volumes, with $34,000,000 invested in buildings, with $17,000,000 of endowments, and with over $6,000,000 of annual income. Of these the free public libraries supported by general taxation number less than 2,000, with 10,000,000 volumes, and with less than $3,500,000 of annual income. They are, however, increasing with disproportionate and amazing rapidity. In Massachusetts, but ten of the 353 cities and towns, but three-fourths of one per cent. of the inhabitants, now lack them. One hundred and ten library buildings there have been the gift of individuals. No form of private memorial is now more popular; no form of municipal expenditure meets with readier assent. Nor are the initiative and the expenditure left wholly to local enterprises. The Commonwealth itself takes part: extending, through a State Commission, State aid in the form of books and continuing counsel. And Massachusetts is but one of eight States maintaining such commissions. New York

*The term "free public libraries" as used in this article is meant to designate only those free libraries which are supported by general taxation.

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State, in its system of traveling libraries, has gone further still in supplementing initial aid with a continuing supply of books, and even photographs and lantern slides, purchased by the State and distributed through the Regents of the State University from Albany to the remotest hamlet.

The first stage of all such legislation is an enabling act—authorizing the establishment of a library by the local authorities; the next is an act encouraging such establishment by bounties; and New Hampshire has reached a third by a law actually mandatory, requiring the local authorities to establish free libraries in proportion to their means and the population to be served. This seems to mark the high-water mark of confidence in the utility of these institutions. It indicates that free public libraries are to be ranked with the common schools, as institutions indispensable to good citizenship, whose establishment the State must for its own protection require.

So the movement has progressed, until now these 2,000 public libraries combined are sending out each year over 30 million books, to do their work for good or ill in the homes of the United States. The entire 2,000 result from one conviction and a uniform purpose. Yet among them there is every variety in scope and in organization. There is the hamlet library of a hundred volumes, open for a couple of hours each week in some farm house, under a volunteer custodian, maintained by the town, but enlisting private contribution through bazaars and sociables—sending out its books by the local provision dealer to its remote and scattered constituents. There is the library of the great city, with elaborate equipment and complex organization to meet a vast and complex need. Such a library as you may find at Chicago; a city which, though it has two great endowed reference libraries, still considers its million and a half of people entitled to a municipal library, with a two million dollar building, studded with costly mosaics, and aided by forty branches and stations in bringing the books nearer each home. Or such a library as exists at Boston; organized as a City Department, under Trustees appointed by the Mayor, maintained, like the schools, or the police, or the fire department, by general taxation; with a central building which has cost the city two and one-half million dollars, with ten branch libraries and seventeen delivery stations scattered through the city and reached daily by

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its delivery wagons; with 700,000 books; and accommodations for over 2,000 readers at one time; including in its equipment such special departments as a bindery and a printing office; requiring for its administration over 250 employés, and for its maintenance each year a quarter of a million dollars, in addition to the proceeds of endowments; and representing in its buildings, books and equipment an investment of over five millions of dollars, the interest on which, at four per cent., added to the expenditure for maintenance, is equivalent to an annual burden of $450,000 for its creation and support.

When this function was first proposed for a municipality, the argument used was that in this country books had come to be the principal instruments of education; that the community was already supporting a public school system; that this system brought a youth to the threshold of education and there left him; that it qualified him to use books, but did nothing to put books within his reach; and finally that it was "of paramount importance that the means of general information should be so diffused that the largest possible number of persons should be induced to read and understand questions going down to the very foundations of social order, which are constantly presenting themselves, and which we, as a people, are constantly required to decide, and do decide, either ignorantly or wisely."

A glance at the libraries now in operation in the United States shows that the ends proposed for them fall far short of the service which they actually perform. They begin with the child before he leaves the school; while he is still in his elementary studies they furnish to him books which stir his imagination, and bring the teaching of the text books into relation with art and with life. They thus help to render more vivid the formal studies pursued; but they also prepare the child to become an intelligent constituent hereafter. This work cannot begin too early, for four-fifths of the children pass out into active life without reaching the high schools. It need not be deferred, for now the number is almost countless of books that touch with imagination and charm of style even the most elementary subjects; and the library can add illustrations which through the eye convey an impression of the largest subjects in the most elemental way.

If the library begins with the citizen earlier than was foreseen, it is prepared to accompany him further than was thought

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necessary. It responds not only to the needs of the general reader, but also to those of the student and even, to the extent of its means, to those of the scholar engaged in special research. The maintenance of universities at the common expense is familiar in the West ; it is less so in the East. And there is still contention that institutions for highly specialized instruction should not be charged upon the community as a whole. But no one has questioned the propriety of charging upon the community the support of a library whose leading purpose may be the encouragement of the higher scholarship.

Finally, to the services just above described the public library has added another : the supply of books for purposes purely recreative. This service, if anticipated, was certainly not explicitly argued for ; nor was it implied in Edward Everett's prediction that the public library would prove the "intellectual common" of the community. The common that Mr. Everett had in mind was a pasturage, not a base ball ground, or lovers' walk, or a loafing place for tramps.

But as regards certain of the books customarily supplied, the ordinary public library of to-day is furnishing recreation rather than instruction. In fact, if we look at the history of free public libraries in this country, we find that the one point of practice on which they have been criticised is the supply of merely recreative literature. The protest has come from thoughtful persons, and it means something, lightly as it has been waived aside.

The excuse that used to be given for the supply of inferior books was that they would entice to the use of the better books. There was to be reached a mass of persons of inferior taste and imperfect education. These persons must be introduced gradually to an acquaintance with the better class of reading through the medium of the familiar. And, at all events, it was better that they should read something than not read at all.

I am not quite so confident of the regenerating virtue of mere printed matter as such ; and I am confident that the reading of a book inferior in style and taste debases the taste, and that the book which sets forth, even with power, a false view of society does harm to the reader, and is so far an injury to the community of which he is part. But even granting the premises, the conclusion is doubtful. We do not deliberately furnish poor art at public expense because there is a portion of the public which cannot

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appreciate the better. Nor when the best is offered, without apology, does the uncultured public in fact complain that it is too "advanced." Thousands of "ordinary" people come to see and enjoy the Abbey and Chavannes and Sargent decorations in the Boston Public Library. No one has yet complained that the paintings are too advanced for him. The best of art is not too good for the least of men, provided he can be influenced at all. Nor are the best of books too good for him, provided he can be influenced at all, and provided they are permitted, as are the pictures, to make their appeal directly. They must not be secluded behind catalogues and formal paraphernalia. The practice which admitted the scholar to the shelves, and limited the general reader to the catalogues, gave the best opportunity to him who least needed it. The modern practice sets before the reader least familar with good *titles* a selection of good *books*. It places them on open shelves where he may handle them without formality. The result is, almost invariably, that he is attracted to a book in advance of his previous tastes. Perhaps a chance paragraph appeals to some experience or ambition, or an illustration stirs his imagination. The books themselves draw him outside of his previous limitations.

In the place, therefore, of books inferior in quality, the more modern public library seeks to attract by the freest possible access to books of the best quality. Not that this practice is universal. But the opinion and tendency are in this safe direction.

However, quality assumed, the general question as to the reading of recreative literature remains. What shall we say of the fact that sixty per cent. of the circulation of the free public libraries still consists of fiction?

In the first place, that this percentage takes no account of reference use, which is almost wholly of serious literature; second, that as to home use the ratio in circulation of fiction to serious literature does not represent a similar ratio of trivial to serious service. Fiction is the small coin of literature. It must circulate more rapidly to represent the same volume of real business done. A volume of fiction may be issued, returned and reissued three times, while a biography or history or work of science is issued once. It will then count seventy-five per cent. in the circulation. But the serious book has during the entire period been out in the hands of the reader; and the service which

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it has performed—the period of attention which it has occupied —equals that of the novel in its three issues. And, finally, there is to be considered the influence of the best fiction toward general culture (if the library is not merely to inform but also to cultivate)—in broadening the sympathies, giving a larger tolerance, a kindlier humanity, a more intelligent helpfulness ; in affording the rest that is in itself an equipment for work, and the distraction that may save from impulse to evil.

However, the amount of fiction circulated in proportion to the total work of the library is on the average steadily decreasing. At the same time the quality is improving ; in part through critical selection, in part as a happy result of the fact that the inferior novels are also, as a rule, inferior books, so poorly manufactured that libraries cannot afford to buy them.

But there is standard fiction and current fiction; and it is the current fiction that constitutes by itself a special problem still perplexing. It is a problem that concerns not the uneducated child, nor the illiterate adult ; it is caused by the people of intelligent education who are avid to read the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. while it is still the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. It is being talked about at dinner and afternoon tea. Well-informed people are reading it ; to read it is a social necessity.

The reason that presses the public library to supply promptly every most recent book in the domain of scientific literature is apparent enough. Such literature contributes facts which are the data for action. But novels in general belong to the literature of power. Their purpose is not to furnish information but to give pleasure. Literature of this sort adds no new fact, nor is it superseded, nor does it lose any of its value by lapse of time. To assume that it does would be to assume that beauty of form could become obsolete. This is not so in painting, in sculpture, in architecture ; why should it be so in prose fiction, in poetry, in the drama ? Was there, in fact, an aesthetic value in the Canterbury Tales in 1380, in Hamlet in 1602, in Ivanhoe in 1819, that is not to be found in them in 1898 ?

But a large portion of latter day fiction is fiction with a purpose ; another way of saying that it is a work of art composed for the dissemination of doctrine. This element promotes it at once to the dignity of a treatise ; a new view of politics, a new criticism of social conditions, a new creed ! Here is something that

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concerns the student of sociology. And surely his needs are worthy of prompt response.

In fact, his needs and the general curiosity do get prompt response, and the new novels are freely bought. How freely I have recently sought to ascertain. I asked of some seventy libraries their yearly expenditure for current fiction in proportion to their total expenditure for books. The returns show an average of from ten to fifteen per cent. In one case the amount reached fifty per cent., in others it fell as low as two per cent. The ratio for fiction in general is much higher on the average; but fiction in general includes Scott and Thackeray and other standards, an ample supply of which would not usually be questioned. At Providence and at Worcester, two of the most active and popular of public libraries, the purchases of fiction, current and standard, formed last year but seven and eleven per cent., respectively, of the entire expenditure for books.

At Boston there were selected but 178 titles of current fiction (out of nearly 600 read and considered). But some dozen copies were bought of each title, so that the entire purchases reached 2,300 volumes and cost about $2,300. This was about six and a half per cent. on a total expenditure for books of $34,000. At St. Louis the practice is to buy but two copies out of the general funds to be circulated free. Nearly a hundred more are added which are rented out and thus pay for themselves.

The statistics do not seem to show that the initial expenditure for current fiction is very alarming. But the purchase price of these books is but a fraction of the expense of handling them. They cannot be supplied in adequate quantities; for while the frenzy of curiosity persists, an adequate supply is beyond the resources of any library. But since the attempt to supply is futile the pretence is injurious. The presence of the titles in the catalogues misleads the reader into a multitude of applications which are a heavy expense to the library without benefit to him. And the acquisition of the single book means to the library the expense of handling a hundred applications for it which are futile to one that can be honored. In this sense a current novel involves perhaps a hundred times the expense of any other book in being supplied to but the same number of readers.

The British Museum acquires the new novels as published; but it withholds them from readers until five years after their

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date of publication. It is my personal belief that a one year limitation of this sort adopted by our free libraries generally would relieve them of anxiety and expense and their readers of inconvenience and delusion.

But as regards current light literature in general it is worth while to consider whether the responsibility of public libraries has not been modified by the growth and diffusion of the newspaper and periodical press. In 1850, when the free public library was started, the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the United States was about 2,500; now it is nearly 20,000. The total annual issues have increased from 400 million to over 4½ billion copies.

The ordinary daily of 1850 contained perhaps a single column of literary matter. To-day it contains, for the same price, seven columns. In 1850 it gave no space to fiction; now it offers Kipling, Howells, Stockton, Bret Harte, Anthony Hope, Crockett, Bourget and many others of the best of the contemporary writers of fiction.

Then there are the cheap magazines, which tender a half dozen stories for the price of a cigar or a bodkin. There are, also, the cheap "libraries," which have flooded the United States with engaging literature available to almost any purse.

In short, conditions have altered. A vast mass of light literature is now cheaply accessible to the individual which formerly could be acquired only painfully or at great expense. Why then should the public libraries struggle longer to supply it in book form at the public expense?

But as to a certain percentage of current light literature there is an embarrassment that I have not touched. It is the embarrassment of making selection without giving offence. All cannot be bought. A choice must be made. With reference to standard literature authoritative judgment is not difficult to obtain. But here there has been no lapse of time to balance opinion. An anticipatory estimate must be attempted, and attempted by the library itself.

Now, if the library decide against the book it is very likely held to blame for "dictating" to its readers. "It is one thing," says a journal commenting on a certain adverse decision, "it is one thing to consider this novel pernicious, but it is another and more serious thing for the foremost library in the country, main-

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tained at public expense, to deny to a large and respectable portion of the public an opportunity to judge for itself whether the work of a man of (this author's) calibre is pernicious or not."

The author in this case was, of course, not Mr. X., but rather Mr. A., an already known quantity.

So a library is not to be permitted to apply a judgment of its own! It is not protected by the fact that this judgment coincides with the judgment of professional critics—so far at least as these may be ascertained. The author may have turned perverse and written a book distinctly bad. Yet this book is to be bought and supplied to enable each member of the public to form a judgment of his own upon it. And it is to be so bought out of public funds entrusted to the library for educational purposes. Censorship has to us an ugly sound; but does the library act as censor when it declares a book beyond its province? Does it dictate what the people shall read when it says, "We decline to buy this book for you with public funds?"

This is a question which is far larger than the selection or rejection of a novel or two. It involves the whole question of authority, and it concerns not merely the extremes, but the varying degrees of worth in literature. Most departments of educational work are founded upon principles, cautiously ascertained, and systematically adhered to. Their consistent maintenance upon principle is the easier because each other such department deals with a special constituency, limited either in age or perhaps in sex, or at least in purpose, and one which accepts as authoritative the system provided for it. The free public library, however, has to satisfy a constituency practically unlimited, including every age and both sexes, whose intellectual need ranges from that of the most illiterate to that of the most highly accomplished, whose education in books ranges from that of the person who has never entered a library to that of the scholar whose life has been a perpetual training in the use of a library; the assertive classes, the bashful classes. And if toward this vast and heterogeneous constituency it seeks to assume the position of an educator, it finds that its authority is not one which the constituents themselves are unanimously willing to concede. Each constituent deems himself not a beneficiary accepting some service, but a proprietor demanding it. Now, within each community there are persons who would have every kind of printed matter published. If,

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therefore, a public library exists simply to respond to the demands of its readers, we must have, instead of an educational system devised by experts and administered with reference to general principles, a system fluctuating with each eccentric requirement of individuals, indefinite in number, various in taste and culture, inexpert, except as each may be competent to judge his own need, incapable of expression in the aggregate, and as individuals without responsibility for the general results.

If, on the other hand, an authority is to be vested in the library, what limits shall it set upon itself, upon what principles of discrimination shall it proceed, in what directions may it expediently control? I but state the problem. I shall not endeavor to answer it. But it is one of the most important involved in the relation of the public library to the community.

From such questions an ordinary educational institution stands aloof. It is content to represent the judgment of the majority in matters of morality and to inculcate the lesson of tried truths as against untried fancies in matters of opinion affecting the social order. It thus throws its influence in favor of the established order of things. But its right, nay, its duty, to do this is unquestioned. Nor is it regarded as disparaging the opinion which it does not teach.

But a public library is not so exempt. In addition to the doctrine which is accepted, it is held to have a duty to the opinion which is struggling for recognition. As to minority opinion, it is not so much a university as a forum. Nay, it is to give every advantage to minority opinion, for—in our resentment of intolerance—minority opinion is not merely tolerated, it is pampered.

Now, it is not for libraries or librarians to act as censors and denounce this or that publication. Yet it is to be remembered that a library which circulates a book helps to promulgate the doctrine which the book contains. And if public libraries circulate books which teach restless, irreverent or revolutionary doctrines, they offer us the incongruity of a municipality aiding in the propagation of ideas which are subversive of social order.

On the other hand, if there is to be exclusion on such grounds, where is the line of exclusion to be drawn? Shall we say at doctrines which, if carried into action, would be criminal under the law? Would the public rest content with this?

Moreover, the principle of exclusion accepted, who is to apply

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it? Whose judgment shall determine whether the particular book does or does not offend? Shall the library determine? But will it not then be "dictating" to its readers? Will it not be unduly discriminating against a certain class of opinion when it has undertaken to represent impartially all shades of opinion? Will it not offend the remonstrant against the existing order of things who has a grievance, and, therefore, a right to be heard; and the defender of the existing order of things who must know the new opinion in order to combat it; and the student of sociology whose curiosity reaches all extremes and regards them simply as phenomena upon which he is entitled to be informed?

I believe that it will. And yet I do not see how the library can escape exercising judgment. For there is no other responsible authority which can be brought to exercise it. We must then expect numerous decisions which will offend a portion of the community. They will usually be on the conservative side —of exclusion. And it is for those who believe that a public library should be a conservative influence in the community to see that it has the authority and is protected in its exercise.

Not that in respect of the violent books there is great injury in present conditions. In the public libraries of to-day there exists no doubt material sufficiently anarchic to upset society, if it could have its will upon society. The fact is, that though there is plenty in literature that is incendiary, there is little in our community that is inflammable.

The good that the libraries do is obvious and acknowledged. They represent the accumulated experience of mankind brought to our service. They are the custodians of whatever is most worthy of preservation in our own life and literature. They are the natural depositories of what we have of memorial and of records; the original entries of legislation and of achievement They must render history available; they must adequately exhibit science; they may help to refine by the best examples in each art, and in this they may also contribute to the industrial life of the community by educating the artisan into an artist, his craft into an art. And through record and description of processes and inventions they may contribute to the foundations of great industries. They touch the community as a whole as perhaps does no other single organized agency for good. They offer to the shyest ignorance equality with the most confident scholar-

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ship, and demand no formal preliminary which might abash ignorance.

They have a profound duty—not generally appreciated—to help render homogeneous the very heterogeneous elements of our population. Thirty per cent. of it has come to us from an alien life and alien institutions. One-third of the people in our six leading cities are of foreign birth; seventy-one per cent. were either born abroad or born of foreign parentage. In the assimilation of this foreign element no single agency is perhaps so potent as our public libraries.

The public libraries deem themselves the allies of formal educational processes; but also the direct educators of that part of the community not subject to the formal processes. It is this latter responsibility which has led them to attempt a broader service than the mere supply of books. A book is not the only nor necessarily the most effective vehicle for conveying knowledge. There are illustrations which more directly convey an impression, and often as fully state a fact. And photographs and process reproductions are now part of the equipment of a public library almost as conventional as books. Within the past year 10,000 such have been added to the collections of the Boston Public Library; not as works of art (they are for the most part cheap silver prints and the Art Museum is but a hundred feet distant); nor merely as aids to the study of the fine arts and the useful arts, but also as convenient auxiliaries to the study of history, of literature and of institutions. And they are used by individuals and by classes not as a substitute for the text, but as helping to render vivid the lesson of the text.

With these go lectures in exposition. Every building of importance recently designed for the uses of a public library includes an art gallery and a lecture hall. What an immense augmentation of function this implies! It implies that the library is no longer merely an aggregate of books, each passive within rigid limits; but that it is an active agent having under its control material which is kept plastic and which it moulds into incredibly varied shapes to suit incredibly varied needs.

The experience of the Boston Public Library shows that in the case of books each increase of facilities creates an increased demand. The trustees of 1852 boasted that they were providing for as many as fifty readers at a time; the trustees of 1887

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thought themselves venturesome in providing for 500 readers at a time; and within a month after the new building was opened it was forced to accommodate over 700 at a time. Every week over 30,000 persons enter the Central Library building, and every year 1,200,000 volumes are drawn for home use by the 65,000 card-holders. Yet these figures represent still but a portion of the persons to be reached and the work to be done. Nor can facilities for distribution keep pace with the need. For a city of a half million people spread over an area of forty square miles adequate library facilities cannot ever be provided. A municipality which even approximates the adequate in providing buildings, equipment, administration and general literature at the public expense must still look to private gift for the specialized material necessary to a great reference collection. That the Boston Public Library is next to the British Museum in Shakespeariana is, to be sure, the result of a special expenditure by the city. But the larger part of its special collections which have given it distinction as a great scholars' library, has come from private gift; the Ticknor collection of Spanish literature, the Bowditch collection of mathematics, the Chamberlain collection of autographs, the Brown collection of music and many others. And a city which erects for its public library a building which is monumental is putting forward the most attractive invitation to private gift. The gifts which have come to Boston as the direct result of the new building have already reached a twelfth of its cost.

With proper organization and a liberal co-operation between municipal and private effort the opportunities for service are almost limitless. The risk is the greater of attempts at service either legally inappropriate or practically inexpedient, and the risk is not lessened by a popular appreciation which is more enthusiastic than it is apt to be discriminating. There is, therefore, the greater need of discrimination on the part of the library itself and of an authority which will protect its exercise. This authority can be conferred only by intelligent public opinion on the part of those who are capable of appreciating constitutional limitations.

HERBERT PUTNAM.

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SHALL AN INCOME TAX BE RE-ESTABLISHED?

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

THE war with Spain has given immediate importance to the question of making provision for an Income Tax by the authority of the government of the United States. The vote in the House of Representatives in April last upon an amendment to the bill making provision for the expenses of the war is strong evidence of the disposition of that body to levy such a tax. A change of eleven votes would have secured the adoption of the amendment. The amendment was proposed under very unfavorable circumstances, and in the presence of a recent decision of the Supreme Court by which such an income tax was declared to be in contravention of the Constitution. That vote, and the indications made in other quarters, justify the conclusion that the Democratic party of the country will advocate an income tax as wise partisan policy. There can be no doubt that a large body of Republicans will, upon discussion, favor the measure. It is apparent, also, that the necessity for such a tax is great at the present moment, and that in future times the necessity will be still greater, even though the general condition of the country should be a condition of peace.

From an early period in the history of the contest between free trade and protection in this country, it has been claimed by the friends of protection that the system would increase the product of our manufactures largely, in proportion to the consumption of them by the people, and consequently that the importations from foreign countries of articles which are produced in America would diminish proportionately. This prediction has, in a measure, proved to be a wise one. The customs duties on cheap cotton fabrics, on iron, and on steel have diminished largely, and

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in regard to some of the items under those classes the revenue has disappeared altogether. It is, therefore, certain that under the protective system the customs duties in proportion to the population of the country are likely to diminish, while, on the other hand, the total expenditures of the country in proportion to population must increase with every decennial period. The present war with Spain will be followed, probably, by a large addition to our means of coast defense, and not unlikely by a large addition also to our navy.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, in the case of Pollock *vs.* Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, rendered at the October Term, 1894, by a divided Court, declared that an income tax levied directly upon the citizens of the country was unconstitutional, and that the only method by which an income tax could be levied and collected would be by a direct tax upon the States. Such a tax could only be levied upon the States according to the population of each, and without any reference to the ability of the citizens to respond to an income tax. Consequently, it would be in effect a capitation tax, which, if levied, would not be paid, probably, by the poorer States of the Union.

At the opening of the Civil War, Congress imposed a direct tax upon the States of $20,000,000 in the aggregate. That was a capitation tax, but in form and in fact it was precisely the same as an income tax levied upon the States. Some of the States paid the direct tax of 1861, while in other States the payment was neglected entirely. At the end Congress reimbursed the States that had paid the tax in order that equality might be re-established. From this experience and from the reason of the case it follows that a direct tax upon the States, whether so called, or classed as an income tax, will not be levied, and if levied, could not be collected without great inconvenience to the country, nor without a system of oppression upon the inhabitants of the weaker States that could not be justified.

The attempt made in Congress by the minority to enact an income tax was an unwise proceeding in the presence of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Pollock. The decision was made by a mere majority of the Court, four members having dissented from the opinion. Since that decision was made there have been two changes in the personnel of the Supreme Court, but the opinions of the new members are not known, nor ought

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they to be known. It cannot be presumed that they would act with the former minority, and in any aspect of the decision it is a very unwise proceeding, as a matter of public policy, to invite dissensions in the Supreme Court, and especially is it unwise to place the court in a position where, by a change of membership, it may be called to reverse its former action. Two such occasions have occurred in the history of that tribunal, and a policy ought not to be adopted which invites or furnishes occasion for such reversals of action.

The decision of 1894 opens the way for further unfortunate controversy, and possibly for other unfortunate decisions. By an act of Congress of the year 1794 a duty was imposed upon carriages. The imposition of the duty gave rise to a controversy which is known as the Hylton case. The act of 1794 was opposed by Mr. Madison and by others as an unconstitutional tax, and upon the ground that it was not an excise tax, and that as a direct tax it fell within the scope of the provision of the Constitution, which provides that direct taxes should be levied upon the States and not upon individuals. In the Hylton case the court held that the tax on carriages was an excise tax as distinguished from a direct tax, and that opinion was affirmed in the Pollock case. Inasmuch as that view has been affirmed, the question whether the tax upon carriages is an excise tax or a direct tax may be considered as settled, but the line between a direct tax and an excise tax is very indefinite. If the question were now submitted to a court as a new question it is probable that the court would divide, or an opinion would be rendered contrary to the opinion given in the Hylton case. The contest before the Supreme Court in what are known as the Legal Tender Cases, and the reversal by that court of its first decision after the appointment of two justices had been made, is further evidence of the unwisdom of placing the court unnecessarily in a position where it may either be compelled to decide important questions against the dissent of a large minority, or, as in the Legal Tender Cases, to reverse its original decision.

As the Constitution now reads, and in the light of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Pollock, two conclusions are unavoidable—First, that the attempt by Congress to levy an income tax through the States and upon the basis of population cannot be made effective as a practical and practicable

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means of raising revenues: Second, that any legislation by Congress in the line of the provision contained in the tariff act of 1894 would lead to further litigation, to be disposed of, finally, by a decision of the Supreme Court.

The limitation in the Constitution by which direct taxes could only be imposed upon the States, and the absence of a description or definition of such taxes, has wrought evil in two directions: First, it has rendered the authority practically valueless, inasmuch as, under that system, any tax levied upon the States would be a capitation tax: and, second, the manifest evil of such a tax is so great that Congress is not likely ever again to provide for the levy and collection of revenues through that agency. The form of government known as the Confederation was created by the States, and its only means of support were to be obtained by a levy of taxes upon the States. The Constitution was established by the people of the United States, and yet the provision of the Constitution in regard to the levy of taxes was derived from the idea which prevailed in the Articles of Confederation. The power to tax is an essential condition of sovereignty in every form of government, and any and every limitation upon the exercise of that power is an encroachment upon the quality or characteristic of government which we call sovereignty.

The Articles of Confederation were framed upon the idea that the government of the United States ought to depend upon the continuing co-operation of the States as independent sovereignties in their relations to each other, and as being superior in their nature to the government of the United States. The Constitution proceeded upon the idea that the people were sovereigns, the creators of the States and the creators of the National Government, and yet the right of the Congress of the United States to exercise the power of taxation upon the people of the United States was limited as compared with the power of the States to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of the respective States. The theory of the preamble can be exemplified in practice only by conferring upon the Congress of the United States power in the matter of taxation equal to that which exists in the several States; that is to say, a power whose limitations are to be found in the manner of the exercise of the power and not in the possession of the power. No objection can be raised to a provision of the Constitution giving such authority to the Congress of the United

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States which may not be raised, and with like force, against the existence of the power in the legislatures of the several States. It may be assumed of every legislative assembly in a country where a free ballot exists, that the power to tax will be exercised with the greatest possible reserve. It may be assumed, also, that the Congress of the United States, in levying taxes, will be as free as the legislature of a State from the influences of improper motives. The power of the people to rebuke a Congress is the same in kind, and it may be exercised with equal freedom, as the power of the people of a State to control taxation through the election of their representatives.

In accordance with these views I am of opinion that the Congress of the United States should be authorized to levy taxes upon the persons and property of the inhabitants of the several States and to collect the same, and that the exercise of that authority by Congress should be free of any limitation, even the least. In form I would say: *The Congress of the United States is empowered to levy taxes upon the persons, incomes and properties of the inhabitants of the several States, and to collect the same.*

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

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SOME ASPECTS OF COURAGE.

BY F. FOSTER.

COURAGE, physical courage especially, is perhaps the one virtue that no man will willingly confess himself deficient in. Our delinquencies with regard to the cardinal sins we admit with varying degrees of reluctance; pride we consider wrong, but respectable; appropriation of our neighbor's property, if effected with ultimate success and due regard for the law, we generally condone; while men who would wax indignant at finding their names associated with that of Don Juan are rarer than they should be. The possessor of an overbearing disposition or a hasty temper is seldom deeply ashamed of it, probably because such faults are supposed to approach the heroic side of one's character. Men even who are proud of a capacity for ingenious lying are not very uncommon; nay, sometimes a man will write himself an ass. But no man will seriously write himself a coward.

As M. Alphonse Karr says: "*On a mis l'honneur des hommes dans la bravoure,*" whereas in a woman honor and virtue have been bracketed; and he adds that this places the woman at a great disadvantage. So that perhaps it is in exchange for the greatest social injustice ever perpetrated, or ever possible, that man has felt it only decent to exaggerate the importance of this quality after having decided that it shall mean honor to him. He has also decided that it shall be binding upon him alone, for let us be honest with ourselves, who admires aggressive, physical courage in a woman? What we do admire in a heroine is not her courage, but that she remains a true woman in spite of her courage. A mere amazon cannot elicit the pure, warm adoration that every man deserving of the name feels for the memory of Joan of Arc, whom we love for her passive fortitude under suffering. Efforts to make the pugnacious female, the woman with a man's

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courage, interesting, are dismal failures. Fighting-man and freebooter though he is, Amyas Leigh refers to her with a tinge of contempt. "Perhaps I did speak a little hastily to her, considering she saved my life, but what a brimstone it is! Mary Ambree in a dark skin!" It was not her desire to "walk on the cawsey with a jack and knapschalle, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword that gave Mary Stuart her dire ascendancy over the minds of men, but her life of romantic misfortune, her fatal beauty and tragic death. Nor is Mary Ambree, "formost in battell," the woman's figure that stands clearest in the intoxicating golden haze of the border ballads, though martial courage is first there, if anywhere. Somehow, we are more interested in May Margaret who pleads with the wraith of her murdered lover, risen from his bloody grave:

"Is there ony room at your head, Saunders?
Is there ony room at your feet?"

and, on being denied such terrible consolation, "gaed weeping away."

Men are prone to contend most stubbornly for what they least understand. Otherwise, it might seem strange that most of us have but very vague ideas concerning this same courage or the causes of it. But, on regarding it narrowly, one is inclined to the belief that it is less a moral quality than a variable attitude of the mind resulting from mental phases entirely unconnected with anything moral or the reverse. This seems a good working theory, at any rate, in subjects first put to the test. For there can be no moral obliquity in possessing a sensitive, analytical temperament (unless, indeed, one should write a modern analytical novel.) Yet the odds are great that a man of such composition finding himself under fire for the first time, will at once perceive his mind to be immeasurably too strong for his body. He will find himself "thinking too precisely on the event," and speculating when speculation is fatal to trimming the balance between mind and body. Habits of drill prove a salutary tonic for the rank and file, but there must be trying times for many a subaltern at his baptism of fire. And, should the first engagement be also by chance his last, yet not fatally so, he will probably spend the remainder of his life in the bitter, secret conviction that he is a coward. Mr. Ambrose Bierce has portrayed for us with remorseless exactness the experience of an untried officer in his story, *One Officer, One Man*. On reading it one has a most uncanny fellow feeling

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with Captain Graffenreid whose sword-hand "trembled; the other moved automatically, clutching at his clothes," and, alas! he "fancied that the men noticed it. Was it fear? he feared it it was. He panted like a dog and forgot to breathe until reminded by vertigo." He is particularly unfortunate, too, in being obliged to lie down next to the only man who has been shot, and seeing the thin stream of trickling blood and perceiving the "sickly, sweetish" odor. Finally, feeling that his honor is hopelessly involved, the unhappy man commits suicide with his own sword, his death being charitably included with that of the private in the list of casualties which forms the title of the story; for after all the regiment did not go into action. This favors the theory that the mind is responsible for the body's deliquencies in such cases, though one should remember Turenne's opinion to the contrary, when, starting at the sound of a cannon on the evening before battle, he addressed his body in most injurious language with the remark that it would tremble, indeed, if it only knew where he was going to take it on the morrow. Probably, if the fictitious Captain Graffenreid had thrown aside all shame, acted naturally, and become more really afraid and less afraid of being afraid, he might have "lived to fight another day," as did Hobart Pasha, a very real hero who died not many years ago. His description of what he experienced when under fire for the first time, given with absolute frankness, is delightfully humorous. He says: "I candidly admit I was in mortal fear, and when a shell dropped right in the middle of us and was, as I thought, going to burst (as it did), I fell down on my face. Lord John Hay, who was close to me and looking as cool as a cucumber, gave me a severe kick, saying, 'Get up, you cowardly young rascal! are you not ashamed of yourself?' I did get up and was ashamed of myself. . . . By degrees all fear left me. I felt only excitement and anger." Fear with him seems to have been a sort of preliminary "stage fright;" at least we hear no more of it, and in his varied experience in after life there was certainly no lack of danger. From hunting slavers to chasing the Czar's yacht under the guns of Sebastopol, he turns with zest to duelling, tells us how he ran the blockade six times in and out of the Southern ports, and devotes an unaffected paragraph to the occasion when he steamed down the Danube in the "Rethymo" between Russian batteries, among torpedoes, shoals

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and sunken rocks, holding a pistol to the head of his pilot, whom he distrusted.

The mental disquietude attending one's introduction to perils and dangers does not arise directly from fear of death or injury; at least it is not confined to war. Mr. A. G. Steel, with all his experience in cricket, refers to "the nervousness inevitable to every man on first going in to bat." Nor is it a disqualification: indeed, Major Philip Douglas has expressed an actual preference for men who paled a little at first and then steadied themselves. From this it would seem that in danger it is well to take one's reflective fit early and get it over, like the diseases of childhood. To compel the mind into a sort of wilful ignorance of peril, not to think, is obviously the best course open to the rank and file, but the officers have a far more difficult task. Restricted thinking, at least, is absolutely necessary in them, though they probably obviate its dangers by rigidly refraining from thinking about themselves. Bacon tells us that "in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great." Now both counsel and execution rest with many officers, and the demand upon their nerves is of the severest. Persistent investigation only confirms us in the opinion of Mr. Stanley Weyman, who ought to know something of such matters, and who says: "Nothing sits worse on a fighting man than too much knowledge—except perhaps a lively imagination." And suppose he has both!

There is very little in this world without antithesis, and we find some instances where habit does not harden a man's nerve. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, displayed such courage as is to be expected from one of his rank and race under fire at Bergen, yet afterwards was guilty of deserting his comrades in a street fight. King James II., as Duke of York, took his chance in sea-fights, yet forfeited his character for bravery at the Boyne. It is noteworthy that in both these cases salt water courage proved unavailing on land, and certainly at sea the conveniences for individual flight are limited and ignominious. Mr. Archibald Forbes points out Alexander III. as a man whose disregard of danger during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 had entirely deserted him in 1894. But the fear of assassination is a high-test case: it strained even the iron nerves of Cromwell.

If we consider courage, not as the constant attribute of a

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certain per centage of the population, but as a variable characteristic of most men, we are naturally curious concerning its ebb and flow. The hero of Canon Kingsley's great romance is of opinion that: "A Dutchman fights best drunk, a Frenchman fasting, an Englishman full, and a Spaniard when the devil's in him," which gives one the impression that an Englishman is physically fittest for the fray. Major Whyte Melville is more thoughtful, less flippant altogether: he thinks that men are brave from various motives, from "ambition, from emulation, from the habit of confronting danger, some from a naturally chivalrous disposition, backed by strong physical nerves," adding that "the last alone are to be trusted in an emergency." They must have been men of this type to whom Cato addressed his famous speech: "*Serpens, sitis, ardor arenae, dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris,*" men of proof whom such words did not daunt. Such a tonic, however, cannot always be safely administered. Gideon's contemptuous advice that those who were fearful and afraid should return and depart early was promptly and cheerfully accepted by more than two-thirds of his entire force, and stands as a warning to leaders placing too much reliance in general upon the spirit of chivalrous emulation. But Cato's harangue still finds an echo in modern times. Take a case by an author who writes much truth under the guise of fiction. Tommy Dodd addresses his troopers of the Belooch Beshaklis with, "'O, men! If you die you will go to hell. Therefore endeavor to keep alive. But if you go to hell, that place cannot be hotter than this place, and we are not told that we shall there suffer from fever. Consequently be not afraid of dying. File out there!' They grinned and went." Moreover, it is significant that the Highlander, a man who has the strongest belief in and the greatest cause to dread hell, and to whom death must appear as a lottery of considerable importance, is perhaps the coolest and bravest soldier in the world. When we reflect that half an ounce of lead suddenly passing between his ribs or perforating his skull may (by his creed) instantly translate him to a sphere of unspeakable, never-ending agony, we find his tranquil exposure to projectiles and weapons a very curious fact. Nor is it the coolness of despair, for his capacity for taking care of himself is one of the very characteristics that make the Scotsman so fine a soldier. We cannot argue conversely, because the Turk, who fights under a different

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contract, death promising for him sure and certain joys after his own heart, though not quite so good a soldier as the Scot, is an exceedingly good one, nevertheless. Skobeleff understood his men and considered that their courage throve best in an atmosphere of dare-devil gaiety, which he was always at great pains to create. Men actuated by strong religious principles, when they can be got to fight, generally do it effectually, with little or no fear apparent, but this is in a measure owing to the fact that there is not room in the human mind for more than one powerful emotion to operate at a time: fear cannot enter because the demon of fighting has the floor.

After all, danger is not so much disconcerting because it may result in pain or death, as because it is big with import and something unusual. Many a man will display more trepidation on the day of his wedding than on the first occasion he is called upon to face danger where there is no time for premeditation. It may be true, as some one recently observed, that our brave forefathers went to battle with stouter hearts than we take to the dentist, but they went to battle two or three times a month and we to the dentist once a quarter. Hotspur of the North—"he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands and says to his wife: 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work'"—belongs to a type and an age in which cowardice was considered not only disgraceful but eccentric.

Some moral, or perhaps intellectual, constitutions have idiosyncracies for certain subjects of fear, just as some physical constitutions have unaccountable antipathies for particular drugs, cocaine, morphine or strychnia; as equivalents for which may be cited cats, deep water, dizzy altitudes, poverty, etc. Johnson frankly admitted that he feared death and what comes after, though he was a virtuous man and physically courageous. Villon specially and pathetically dreaded the gallows, and reasonably, considering his habits; whereas Gordon Pasha feared the Mahdi less than he did a dinner party, for which he appears to have had an almost malignant antipathy.

The crude idea that men are of two classes, courageous and cowardly, the former worthy of all praise and the latter deserving of scarcely enough consideration to brand them with contempt, is easily recognized as a fallacy upon very slight reflection. But the nucleus round which this exaggeration has

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gathered is of such import that one can scarcely feel surprised. There is a condition possible to some few souls that, if not really the highest attribute of humanity, would be chosen by most men of noble mould, were selection possible. It is the unawed tranquility, the absolute inability to fear, that some men, not many, possess, or rather, one should say, by which some men are possessed. An instance of such courage on a low plane is that of Potemkin kicking aside the bloody head of his predecessor as he stepped to the block, an act almost indelicate enough to be humorous, yet, withal, significant of an iron nerve. Somewhere in the late '70's another Russian, but this time a savant, gave a proof of what length a rapt intensity of purpose will carry a man to. In order to make good his theory that a suicide may be deliberate and unrepenting, he subjected himself to hideous torture ending in death, but under such circumstances that he might have relinquished his design at any stage of its progress. He lay on his back upon a bedstead from which he had stripped all the clothing, with a lamp placed underneath him so that the flame just touched his spine, rising at intervals to make notes, which were afterwards published. They show a calm spirit of research, and are slightly triumphant in tone, though touched into high relief once or twice by an expression of anguish. Insanity has become to such an extent the plea through the whole gamut of crime, from shoplifting to murder, that one hesitates to apply the mean and derogatory word to an act like this. The immense disproportion between the value of the proof and the means taken to arrive at it cannot rob the deed of a flavor of heroism, and heroism passing into a stage where admiration takes on a shudder is not common. Perhaps the supreme instance of it is found in Dante's interview with Farinata rising from the burning tomb. The sight of that tragic, noble soul portrayed by the terrible twin arts of Dante and Doré makes us long for the rare virtue of stoicism and to sing with Mr. Henley, that modern apostle of passive fortitude:

> "I thank whatever gods there be
> For my unconquerable soul.
> In the fell clutch of circumstance
> I have not winced nor cried aloud.
> Under the bludgeonings of chance
> My head is bloody but unbowed?"

It is distressing to find what unpleasant vices are quite com-

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patible with courage of a high degree, vices that form a constant factor of the character too, not such as can be regarded as sudden and isolated distortions of a too robust virtue, like Clive's forgeries, or Alexander's assassination of Clitus. But Marlborough's personal courage, which was of the rarest, the tranquil, smiling kind, reminding one of the suave attention of a skillful whist player, is scarcely more conspicuous to posterity than his avarice and his treachery. Francisco de Carbajal, who enjoyed danger like a boy at play, and joked until the last upon his own execution, which, being a sentence for high treason, was accompanied by details that could hardly be considered amusing even by a spectator, seems in his method of dealing with his prisoners to have been a sort of prototype of the famous Judge Jeffreys, with even larger capacity. Descending to the more private and personal delinquences, we regret to find Henri IV. a renegade in religion and a profligate; General Monk reputed a toss-pot, with a taste (and a capacity) for drinking all his companions under the table; Gonzalo Pizarro and Wallenstein inordinately fond of fine clothes and outward show generally; Luxembourg a voluptuary, a sybarite and a glutton; Julius Cæsar debased in his private life beyond the reach of criticism; and, perhaps strangest of all, Nelson ever willing that his ears should be tickled with the sound of his own glory, accomplished without ostentation at the call of duty.

What manner of plant is this courage, that thorns springing up do not choke it? And are we to accept the dictum of some who, in these latter days, tell us that it is a waning virtue, dying for lack of exercise? Must we admit that it is like the faculty for twitching one's scalp, or the dreaded vermiform appendix, a mere relic of something once necessary, but now no longer so, and that our high regard for it is but an instance of valuation surviving value? We should prefer to believe that the logic of the later pessimists has for once, at least, gone astray, and to agree with Thackeray that "bravery never goes out of fashion."

F Fosier.

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SPAIN'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SPAIN.

THE Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has requested me to define the present status of political parties in Spain in such a way as to indicate the conflicting interests and ambitions that inspire each in the presence of a condition of things that may at any moment involve that unhappy kingdom in the throes of civil war.

Seven months ago this REVIEW called upon me to make, in substantially the same way, such a presentation of the Cuban question as would indicate the probable issue of a conflict in which this country was then as now deeply involved. In the midst of the general interest excited by that article certain thoughtless and passionate persons, to whom I have never before deemed it necessary to respond, saw fit to criticise with greater or less severity my right to speak at that time. In the light of subsequent events I now beg leave to submit to my critics the following considerations.

At the time of the appearance of the article in question I was a private citizen, endowed with all the rights and privileges of every other citizen, save so far as I was restrained by the proprieties incident to the fact that I had recently been entrusted by two administrations with the conduct of delicate and serious diplomatic negotiations. By virtue of that circumstance I was, of course, precluded absolutely from using, directly or indirectly, any private information that I had obtained in my official capacity. So religiously did I observe that obligation that no one has ever attempted to point out the smallest particular in which it was violated. And yet I would never have exposed myself even to the suspicion of indelicacy, had I not been impelled to speak

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by the solemn conviction that it was my duty to try and say something that would hasten the termination of a conflict that was not only oppressing the people of my own country, but also involving the most sickening and wholesale sacrifice of human life ever witnessed in modern times. As those who were in charge of our foreign affairs were completely blinded and overreached at that time by Spanish diplomacy, I deemed it my duty to appeal to the people of the United States not to be lured deeper into the morass by the phantom of Cuban autonomy. As every one knows, the prediction then made by me, that that hopeless and belated experiment would end in smoke, has been more than verified. So sure was I of that result that I then ventured to predict that intervention by this government would become inevitable; and in anticipation of that event I undertook to define technically the right of intervention, and to set forth categorically the special grounds upon which international law would sanction its exercise upon our part.

When the President finally resolved to adopt that policy, as the only one adequate to the necessities of the case, he did me the honor, in his message to Congress of April 11th, to paraphrase what I had said upon that subject in this REVIEW six months before, including the exact quotation from President Cleveland's message to the second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress then employed by me. I hope, therefore, that it will now be admitted on all hands that the article in question, objectionable to some at the time of its publication, has proven to be not only prophetic but influential in shaping the course of events. The great misfortune is that the suggestion of intervention was not accepted at the time it was made; because, if it had been, not only the Cuban people but ourselves could have been saved very many of the frightful and unnecessary losses both of life and of property that have occurred since that time.

Every student of the Science of Politics, who has been trained in the Historical School, perfectly understands that no clear comprehension of existing political conditions in any country is possible without some understanding of the history of its past. As Mr. Freeman, in his now famous aphorism, has tersely expressed it: "Present history is past politics; and past politics is present history." Of no country in Europe is that saying more true than of Spain; in no other European land are existing political conditions

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so hopelessly bound up with the past. We can only speculate as to what would have been the present aspect of Spanish politics had the French Revolution, instead of pausing at the Pyrenees, swept on to Gibraltar. The fact is that no such thing happened, and thus Spain was deprived of the opportunity of breaking away as completely as France did from medieval political ideas. And yet there was a time when Spain made a much closer approach than France towards real representative government. Prior to the consolidation of the Kingdom by Ferdinand and Isabella, the most notable representative systems anywhere to be found were those in Spain, which were afterwards trampled out by Charles V. and Philip II. But from that time down to the French Revolution pure monarchy prevailed in Spain, as in the rest of Europe; and there was no country in which absolutist theories took a deeper hold than in that one which, after destroying its home parliaments, won for itself the first place "as the discoverer, conqueror and colonizer of new lands."

Nothing could have been more natural, therefore, than the rejection, by those who founded the Spanish Colonial system, of the idea that colonists should enjoy local self-government through the agencies of representative assemblies. The Roman pro-consular system was imposed by Spain upon each colony as it arose; and home-bred Spanish officials were sent from the Metropolis to govern the colonists as if they were children or slaves, and to manipulate their commerce in the interest of the mother country. The basis of the system as a whole was the principle that a bureaucracy at Madrid should dominate absolutely in colonial affairs. It cannot be denied, however, that under that regime Spain had wonderful success in extending her colonial empire in the new world. She there so far outstripped all of her European rivals that, at the beginning of the present century, she owned in the three Americas more than all of her rivals combined; she then possessed an area double the present extent of the United States, including Alaska. It has been Spain's misfortune not to be able to hold what she thus acquired—the despotic pro-consular system under which she subdued and settled her vast colonial domain has proven entirely inadequate for its retention. Through the cruel and short-sighted exercise of political tyranny on the one hand and commercial oppression on the other, Spain has lost, since the year 1800, seven millions of square miles of terri-

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tory in North, Central and South America. Only Cuba and Porto Rico, representing less than forty thousand square miles, remain to her, and their loss now seems to be imminent. In the presence of that contingency there is a general belief that, if the worst happens, the present dynasty will be charged with the catastrophe, and as a punishment will be swept away in order to make place for some new and more competent regime. Whether or no such an organic change is to be made in the constitution of the Peninsula, is the question of questions which Spaniards must answer in the near future.

A mere glance at the record of civil wars and military revolutions that have occurred within her borders since the present century began should certainly admonish Spain to reflect before she plunges again into the abyss. Before the birth of Queen Isabella II. in 1830, the dynastic struggle which has clouded Spanish politics since that time began with the promulgation by her father, Ferdinand VII., of a "pragmatic sanction" abolishing the Salic law. When, upon the death of Ferdinand in 1833, his Neapolitan widow, Christina, as regent, asserted the right of her infant daughter of three years to succeed against the protest of the dead King's brother, Don Carlos, the fires of civil war were lighted; and the first Carlist struggle thus begun continued down to the surrender of the Basque provinces in 1839, and the abdication of the first pretender in favor of his son, Don Carlos II. In the next year, Christina, who was driven from the country by a military revolution, was succeeded as regent by General Espartero, who had made himself the hero of the first Carlist war. Three years later the scene shifted, and Espartero was driven out in favor of Christina, who upon her return had Isabella declared of age in order that she might be married to her cousin, the poor little mannikin, Francis d'Assis, while her sister, Maria, was married to the heir of the French throne, the Duke of Montpensier.

From the time of these marriage alliances—arranged through the cold blooded selfishness of Louis Philippe, who was fool enough to imagine that he had devised a plan to prevent Isabella from having heirs—military revolutions became the order of the day. In 1854, such an outburst under the lead of General O'Donnell forced the restoration of the constitution of 1837; in 1856, Madrid revolted and was declared in a state of siege, and,

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in 1860, the second Carlist war began in favor of Don Carlos II., who was succeeded after its suppression by his brother, Don Juan. Insurrections then followed each other in quick succession until September, 1868, when the military movement against the throne, headed by Pim and Serrano, resulted in the expulsion of Isabella, who, with her mother and children, found an asylum in France. The republican uprisings that assailed the military regime thus established were sternly stamped out in blood, until something like repose was secured for a moment under a government by regency, established in June, 1869, with Serrano at its head. Then came the election in November, 1870, of Amadeus, the second son of Victor Emmanuel, who ended his troubled and unsuccessful reign by resigning in February, 1873. In the year preceding that event the third Carlist war broke out in favor of Don Carlos III., son of Don Juan, which for four years involved the country in more bloodshed and devastation than either of its predecessors.

In the midst of such trials it was that the Cortes, in June, 1873, proclaimed the Republic, with Pi y Margall as its first President; in July he was succeeded by Salmeron; and in September he gave way to Emilio Castelar. But the Lamartine of Spain, with all his genius and patriotism, could not work miracles. The republic was premature. Between movements for cantonal sovereignty, republican outbreaks in the south and Carlist uprisings in the north, it simply fell to pieces; and, in January, 1874, Castelar resigned the executive power, which was taken up at Madrid by Serrano, who held it until January, 1875, when the house of Bourbon was re-established in the person of the boy King, Alfonso XII., the only son of Isabella II.

Only by keeping firmly in mind the train of events that connect the accession of Isabella with that of her son, is it possible to comprehend the gigantic task that confronted the great statesman who re-established the monarchy, restored the reign of law and founded the political party which, to a great extent, conducted the affairs of the country under his leadership for the next twenty years.

Antonio Canovas del Castillo, undoubtedly the best equipped and the most useful statesman that Spain has produced in a century, came upon the scene at the moment when a firm, organizing, trained hand was needed to bring order and repose out of

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a political anarchy that had sapped the very foundations of the kingdom. The licentious life of the Queen had so discredited the monarchy that she had been driven into exile by an outraged public opinion; the military element, by their repeated pronunciamentoes, had become a menace to social order; the republic had proved an ignominious failure; the imported and unpopular Italian King had been forced to resign; the Carlists had nothing to offer but a renewal of civil war, whose ending in their favor promised nothing but a certain return to obsolete medieval ideas. To build up a stable constitution upon such a wreck was the task which Canovas was called upon to perform; and the manner in which he executed it will stand in the history of his country as a monument to his genius and patriotism.

The son of a school teacher at Malaga, he came into life under conditions that put him in touch with the best and truest people in Spain, the common people, the people who compose that firm democratic substructure upon which a new and higher political life will surely be erected. And yet, humble as his origin was, he was the son of a man of books, who directed his mind to study as a means of advancement. So precocious was he in that respect that he soon worked his way to the university at Madrid, where he won a reputation as a scholar that paved his way into public life. As a member of the Cortes, he had already risen to leadership before the time came for him to bring back the Bourbons—"my Bourbons," as he is said to have called them. In order to save the line and at the same time to get rid of Isabella, he induced her to resign in favor of her son Alfonso, then a boy of sixteen years. With the aid of Campos, he was able to induce the armies of the centre and north to proclaim the new King, who came to Madrid under the guidance and direction of Canovas as prime minister. With that much accomplished, the greater task remained of drafting a new constitution, in which the restored monarchy could be checked and limited by the safeguards imposed by parliamentary government in its modern form, and also by those legal guarantees in favor of the personal liberty of the subjects which are a necessary part of it. There seems to be no controversy about the fact that the present Constitution of Spain, drafted by Canovas in 1875, was as entirely the work of his hand alone as such a work can ever be the production of one man. To a student of

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the science of constitutions it is a masterpiece; it is complete upon its face, and strangely wise in its dealings with many questions that vex monarchical statesmen. But to one who has watched the practical workings of Spanish politics it is very apparent that the theoretical conceptions of Canovas were far in advance of his nation. The people of Spain were not prepared for such a constitution; and the monarchy was not willing to accept in practice the restraints of a real parliamentary system. The result has been that the government of Spain has been carried on under the outward forms of a fundamental law whose central principle has been to a large extent set aside. The dominant force in Spanish politics since 1875, as before, has been the monarchy governing through a bureaucracy, with a prime minister at its head, chosen, in fact, by the Crown and not by the Cortes. To put the matter in another form Canovas erected for Spain in its constitution a true ideal of parliamentary government, but he was never able to make it a reality, because it was resisted both by the Crown and the ruling classes.

The fact is that the governing classes in Spain, consisting of the nobles, the clergy and the political and military administrators, are, as a general rule, worn out, weary and unprogressive. Canovas could only lead them so far; and he had the good sense to know that if he attempted to lead them farther he would march alone. Richelieu, in Bulwer's play, cries out: "I have recreated France!" It was beyond the power of Canovas to recreate Spain; he was only able "to lure to brighter worlds and lead the way." In order to carry out his designs for the improvement of his country, he organized the Conservative party, which, down to the day of his death, he directed absolutely. As far as he was able, he always drew into his service the best and truest men in the country, and in that he was always sustained and encouraged by the Queen Regent, whose high and noble nature spurns all that is low and ignoble. His one scourge throughout the greater part of his political life was the notorious Romero y Robledo, who has ever represented all that is venal, contemptible and reactionary in Spanish politics. This crafty intriguer for years bore to Canovas the relation that the Duke of Newcastle bore to the elder Pitt. If the spirits of Catiline and "Boss Tweed" could reappear in one man we would have another Romero. It was from such a man that the great scholar

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statesman was continually forced to borrow influence to carry on the government. After the death of Canovas, it was perfectly natural that the audacity of Romero should have driven him to clutch at the leadership of the disorganized Conservatives by drawing to his side poor little Weyler, who, as a politician, is very small indeed. The only possible successor of Canovas is Silvela, a fine lawyer, a striking orator and an incorruptible man, who for many years broke away from his party because he said that he could not be the yoke-fellow of such a corrupt man as Romero. The Conservative party will no doubt perceive the necessity of driving out both Romero and Weyler, and of reconstituting itself under the leadership of Silvela, whose high character and accomplishments must compensate for his lack of that indefinable something which makes a practical statesman.

Through the greater part of his career Sagasta was Canovas' political *vis-a-vis*, as the leader of the Liberal party, which has always supported the present dynasty upon a broad and popular basis. For many years Sagasta was on hand ready to take power whenever Canovas saw fit to give it up. A good patriotic man at heart, Sagasta is in the full sense of the term an opportunist, whose idea is that a statesman should live from hand to mouth, trusting that each day will in its turn take care of itself. Carlyle, in his life of Frederick the Great, says of Walpole that: "He had one rule, that stood in the place of many: to keep out of every business which it was possible for human wisdom to stave aside. 'What good will you get out of going into that? Parliamentary criticism, argument and botheration! Leave well enough alone. And even ill alone. Are you the tradesman to tinker leaky vessels in England? You will not want for work. Mind your pudding and say little.' At home and abroad that was the safe secret." Such is the rule which Sagasta has always followed when it was possible to do so. Of late he has deviated from it simply because there was no escape, and the result has been "parliamentary criticism, argument and botheration."

Under the best circumstances Sagasta's political family has never been a happy one. While the peace of Canovas was broken by the conflicts between Romero and Silvela, Sagasta was harassed by the differences between the faction led by Moret and Gomazo. Moret is, however, by far the better and more enlightened man of the two. He is a perfect master of English; a man of broad

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culture and travel ; and a firm believer in real parliamentary government. No Spanish statesman has had so clear a comprehension of the Cuban question from the beginning ; and, if he had been permitted to act in time, he is the one man who might have averted the present catastrophe. His long residence in England has put him politically far in advance of most of his contemporaries. Until recently, Canalejas was one of the rising young leaders of the Liberal party who stood close to Sagasta. He only drew away from Sagasta when he foresaw that the Cuban policy of the latter was doomed to failure and disappointment. In that way he has put himself in a position to be of special use to his country in the near future, possibly as the successor of Sagasta.

Such, then, in general terms is the attitude of the two great monarchical parties—Conservatives and Liberals— that have upheld the present dynasty since its re-establishment in 1875. Since that time they have been equally resolute in resisting the Republicans, on the one hand, and the Carlists on the other; and united they are more than a match for both. No matter what may happen in the external politics of Spain; no matter if she is stripped of all her colonial possessions; no matter if Romero and Weyler do try to stir up civil war for their own selfish ends— Spain is safe so long as Conservatives and Liberals stand together to maintain social order under the existing constitution.

No student of politics who has carefully examined existing political conditions in Spain can believe that the time has come for her to depart from monarchial institutions. If that be true why should the present dynasty be overthrown ? Why should the wise and devoted Queen Regent be driven out on account of national misfortunes, for which neither she nor her son is in any way responsible ? The most priceless possession of Spain to-day is Maria Christina, because she alone bars the door to the renewal of civil war, which, at this moment, would be destruction to the country. In this dark hour of Spain's history, her pure, womanly character shines forth, like a light in a dark place, around which all patriotic Spaniards should gather. If monarchical institutions survive, her overthrow means the accession of Don Carlos, who, apart from his utter and admitted worthlessness as a man, represents a set of medieval ideas and aspirations that would set Spain back into the past at least a century.

Assuming, then, that Spain will be wise enough to firmly re-

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ject Carlism as a panacea for her present ills, would it be to her interest at this time to overthrow the monarchy in order to re-establish the republic? Nothing can be more easily demonstrated than the fact that a form of government, however good in itself, is not necessarily adapted to all nations and to all conditions. France has been struggling for a long time so to emancipate herself from her political past as to make possible a reconciliation between a republican regime and her monarchical and imperialist traditions. But France has been transformed through a revolutionary process to which Spain has so far been a stranger; and in that way France has reached a stage of political development into which Spain is not yet prepared to enter. There are certainly two very good reasons for thinking so. The republican experiment which began in June, 1873, under the presidency of Pi y Margall, and which ended in January, 1874, under the presidency of Castelar, was certainly a dismal failure. It fell to pieces at the end of seven months, after having had three presidents, all of whom are now living and members of the popular branch of the Cortes. Of the three the one of whom all the world knows is Emilio Castelar. If anybody clearly comprehends and loves Spain he does. In his mighty brain is stored away her whole history as a part of the history of all Europe; in his heart is enshrined a filial love of country as lofty and unselfish as ever ennobled a patriot. From the serene height of gratified ambition and unbounded personal influence, Castelar can judge, as no other man can, whether or no his country is prepared for a republic. Convinced years ago that she was not, he resolved, stern and unbending republican as he is, to retire from the political arena and to transmit his aspirations to another generation. Castelar has for years made no secret of the fact that he does not consider Spain ripe for a republic; and in his great, tender way he has often said that he could not attack the monarchy as now constituted, because he could not make war upon a woman and a child. And, even if some great tidal wave of unreasoning popular passion should sweep over Spain and submerge for a moment all existing institutions, there is reason to believe that the great voice of the nation will, in the same spirit, cry out above the storm, "We cannot make war upon a woman and a child."

Let us hope, then, whatever may come, that Spain will pause and listen to the self-denying words of her greatest and noblest liv-

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ing son, words that warn her at once against the perils incident to Carlism, militarism and the republic. And if, perchance, crushing defeats at sea and internal dissensions at home should bring the once proud Castilian Kingdom to the feet of this great and growing Republic, will not our moral dignity demand that we, too, should remember in the hour of victory that both justice and generosity should characterize our dealings with a once friendly nation, whose destinies are in the hands of a woman and a child? When the end comes, let us resolve to be just and generous not only to Cuba, but to Spain, too.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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LITERARY LIFE IN LONDON.

BY WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE literary profession in London, like the literary profession everywhere, is not confined by any narrow bounds. It is not hedged in as a guild, like the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers or the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, with minute regulations as to the quality and value of work and the hours of toil; nor has it coats of arms, like those of the craft-guilds, side by side with the escutcheons of prelates and kings in cathedrals—it has no badges or insignia of any kind to denote it. Every other profession is more or less a close corporation, requiring precise qualifications for membership, and is jealously held together by a sort of aristocratic exclusiveness. The barrister has his wig and gown and his inn, the surgeon his diplomas and the churchman his license. All must have some special technical training; none can set out to earn his living until he has given some proof of fitness for his chosen work, and, that done, he acquires not only a right to practise but also a social status from which others not of his profession are debarred. The literary profession, on the other hand, is an open field, filled with all sorts and conditions of men—the prepared and the unprepared, the educated and the uneducated—who enter it without challenge and without any question as to antecedents. Any one may claim to belong to it without incurring the slightest risk of such prosecution as would surely follow a pretender in medicine or law. It has no boards of examiners, charges no fees to beginners, discriminates not against age or sex, and invokes no law against charlatans. Anybody may spoil a sheet of paper and call himself a literary man, and though he may be detected as a quack the law has no power to punish him for his pretences. There surely is no other profession in the world so hospitable and, within and without, so unrestricted against com-

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petition. What wonder, then, that the literary man, as a literary man, has no defined social position in those tables of precedence which gauge the tides of rank in county directories, except in the way Mr. James Payn found it in one of those publications. Lords and ladies were there, the military, the navy, the judges and all petty officials, each class in its order, each well-defined—mayor, councilmen and town clerk—dribbling down the page in diminishing glory until, like the last drop of a spent syphon, came the line "burgesses, literary persons and others."

There is very little *esprit de corps*, very little pride in one another, in the profession. A certain saucy gentleman, a critic himself, recently spoke to me of what the forthcoming "life" of an eminent poet would contain. "It will contain," he said, "much about X's social position, which didn't exist, and much about his religious opinions, which didn't matter." And a very distinguished man of letters, who has a seat in the House of Commons, recently complained to me that a literary man in that body is nearly always at a disadvantage; he is not taken seriously. "The popular persuasion is that when a man of letters goes into Parliament he is sure to be hopelessly belated, and occupied with conflicts that are long gone by." The poet may be adored as a poet, but he is apt to be laughed at as a man, and should a novelist enter the domain of public affairs, either in the House or elsewhere, it is regarded as a vain dream if not as an impertinence. Thackeray was defeated when he contested Oxford, and that excellent man of business, Anthony Trollope, who had been an efficient servant of the post office for many years, was considered presumptuous when he sought a seat in Parliament. It was the author who was presumptuous; the civil servant might have been elected with propriety.

The profession has in Sir Walter Besant probably its only out-and-out champion—a champion who uncompromisingly demands that the public and the state shall recognize and honor it as other professions are recognized and honored, but when, at a dinner given to him in London, he, contending for the point with the strenuousness of unescapable conviction, insisted that so long as rank and titles prevailed in England literary men should have their share equally with doctors, lawyers and men of science, the literary men who heard him smiled as at one whose flattery goes

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a little too far. A brewer or a distiller may have a peerage, but speak of making Thomas Hardy Earl of Wessex, or Blackmore Lord Teddington, or Meredith Baron Box-hill, and it is the "literary person" who laughs most. He is so used to being without rank or titular distinction, and possibly he so little desires it, that he cannot keep up with Sir Walter in his forward policy of forcing the literary profession into a parity as regards rights, honors and privileges with the professions of law and medicine. Vain and arrogant he may be as an individual, but it is ten to one that in his profession and in his fellow professional men he takes no pride.

The truth is that literature is as often an avocation as it is a vocation, and the literary man who is a constant producer, and wholly absorbed in his profession, finds himself in competition with, and perhaps eclipsed by, others with whom the production of books is, as with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour, only an occasional recreation. Whether he be a writer of fiction, a sociologist, a political economist, a historian or a poet, the distinguished amateur is always jostling him and cutting him out of his market; and as the distinguished amateur often has genuine literary gifts as well as special knowledge in another profession, the fact that he has not chosen to make literature his sole occupation cannot justify us in saying that he is not a literary man.

So various is literary life in London, so interwoven with other kinds of life, high and low, that it is not easy to either locate it or define it in any arbitrary way. One might point to a forlorn figure coming down a dingy stairway from an editorial office in Paternoster Row, and say that that was literary life in London—a woman in seedy black, poverty and unspeakable dejection expressed in dress and face, with red, tearful eyes and a roll of manuscript in her split and ripped gloves. Paternoster is a poor name for the rag-fair of Literature, and the slop shop of penny books, where the "sweater" plies his trade, but within its dismal precincts there is a whole class of women like this one, and similar men, and the chronic disappointment of the accepted calls as loudly for prayers as the anguish of the rejected.

Fleet Street has scores of little clubs meeting in taverns, where all the talk is literary shop-talk, and where there are police court reporters who write novels and sub-editors who write verse. They would have to be reckoned with in a survey of literary life in Lon-

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don, and so, too, the Vagabonds' Club, which gives big dinners in King's Hall, and has a field-marshal for its president and invites all sorts of literary ladies to its feasts—ladies who write religious stories of home and heaven, and ladies who write very wicked stories of earth and hell, and cross their legs and smoke cigarettes with their coffee—aye, and even drink whiskey and soda. Then there is a fascinating little club which in summer abides under the chestnuts and beeches of the park, and on sunny mornings you may see groups of literary people there—perhaps the eminent publisher of *fin de siècle* works, whose motto might be, "What can I do to shock you?" and some of his authors, ladies, of course, who are dressed in the smartest gowns and come in stylish carriages.

The Omar Khayyàm Club meeting at pleasant country inns in summer time represents some of the best and most distinguished elements of literary life, and the dinners of the *Punch* staff could not be omitted from any survey that had any claim to completeness. To see the literary man of modern times in all his variety one must look, also, into many of the older and larger clubs, like The Athenaeum, The Reform, The Garrick and The Savile.

Since Thackeray's days, and earlier, The Athenaeum has been hospitable to literary men, and now among its archbishops and bishops and its savants one finds Thomas Hardy, Andrew Lang, Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and The Poet Laureate. The Reform, despite its political bias, has among its members William Black, Anthony Hope, "Henry Seton Merriman" and J. M. Barrie. The Savile, in its sombre house in Piccadilly, is the most literary of all, and, not to speak of scores of other authors who belong to it, I may mention Rudyard Kipling, Hardy, Grant Allen, Edmund Gosse, Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and Henry Norman. The little dinners to eight which Sir Henry Thompson calls his "octaves" would also afford an illustration of a phase of literary life, for though great painters, great physicians and great statesmen sit down to them, the man of letters is conspicuous at them, if he is not predominant. Then there are literary "receptions" and teas, where if you would see the authors as they walk you would be bound to go—Mrs. O'Connor's, Mrs. Moulton's, Lady Jeune's, Mrs. Norman's, Mrs. Bryce's and Mrs. Hardy's, and from the air of the drawing-room, with its low lights and roses, it would be necessary in order to grasp and un-

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derstand the extremes which meet in an adequate definition of literary life to descend into the slums and see poverty and horror of the kind which Mr. Coulson Kernahan so boldly pictures in his story of "A Literary Gent," and which hang as heavily around the necks of the unfortunate and the unwise as they did in the days of Richard Savage.

There is nothing esoteric in the business of literature; it is as universal as the gypsies and the Jews. All kinds of men and women enter it, the prince for a new glory and the beggar for the penny which other devices have failed to procure. There is a glint of magnificence in the openness of a republic like this, where there are no restrictions on age, or sex, or condition, and yet from its nature there is no brotherhood in it, no trades-unionism or even the possibility of effective combination ; equality of opportunity is nullified as in no other profession by inequality of equipment.

Literary life in the metropolis is indeed as ubiquitous as the hansom cab, and any attempt to describe it in all its social and intellectual variety would carry us far beyond the limits of an article. There are, however, features of it, such as the earnings of authors and the intervention of the so-called "literary agent," which, in such a "shop-talk" as this is meant to be, may possess some interest for even the unprofessional reader.

I believe that in no other centre do the wages of literature range between such extremes as in London. Authors who are unknown or little known in this country are far better off than those of a similar class there, who are often paid little more than a type-writer would receive for the mere work of copying. These are the compilers of books and articles of information, the writers of stories of adventure for boys, and the editors of popular editions of the classics, whom we may find by the dozen delving in the twilight of the British Museum reading-room, and munching dry biscuits for luncheon as they bend over their beggarly tasks. *Spenser's Works* complete for a shilling, good paper and binding, original notes and a new biographical preface—paper labels and deckel edges. What a marvel of cheapness combined with good taste ! The editor is a university man, and has given himself to the work for two or three months. It is to be hoped he enjoys it and can assuage hunger with glory, for all the money he receives

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from the publishers is ten or twelve pounds. Then there is the biography which appears in the "Notables of the Nations" series; this, too, beautifully printed and sold for eighteenpence. The author is lucky if he gets twenty pounds for his share in this attempt to disseminate useful knowledge. Quite another class of work, but no more lucrative, is the writing of adventure books, which in the holiday season sell by the tens of thousands. I know a trained journalist, who, temporarily out of a place on a newspaper, was driven to accept a commission for a book of this sort. "What do you suppose I am to get for it—ninety thousand words?" he asked. Knowing what would ordinarily be paid for such a piece of hackwork in America, I guessed at sixty pounds. He handed me the contract, and the sum was twenty-five pounds—one hundred and twenty-five dollars for a volume that was to contain not less than four hundred printed pages.

Nor are the rewards of creative and imaginative work any better if the author lacks notoriety and fails to hit the popular taste. I have in mind a volume of short stories, the genius of which is recognized by some of the best critics. Some of them were first published in such magazines as *Blackwood's*, a proof presumptive that it is not mere idiosyncrasy or a manifestation of "faddishness" that sets them in a high place. They have a subtlety in fathoming human nature which recalls Balzac, and, though the author is a young woman, their style is restrained and polished, rich yet orderly, firm and temperate, as a woman's style rarely is. But, working steadily at her art for a year, she has been unable to make more than a hundred pounds, and is being forced out of her natural vocation to support herself by writing letters to provincial newspapers. Even when an author is widely known and has a name familiar on every bookstall in English-speaking countries, a large revenue does not always follow. Names need not be mentioned, but we all remember one author who a few years ago applied for a pension on the English civil list. She had written over fifty novels, some of which are still in demand, and all of which in their day had been printed and reprinted in England, Canada, the United States and Australia by the thousand. Yet she was able to show that during her entire literary career her income from this source had not averaged three hundred pounds a year. It is true that this result was due in some meas-

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ure to the fact that she had been the victim of piracy and the rascality of unprincipled publishers who took advantage of the absence of international copyright, so that, as in the case of scores of other popular novelists, a ten pound note occasionally offered as a *solatium* by publishers of the better class, was all that ever came to her from this side of the Atlantic. Her publishers at home could not have treated her fairly, and for every shilling she made made a pound themselves. Probably she accepted any terms they offered, and signed egregiously unjust contracts without question or protest. Had her work been done in these days of international copyright and the surveillance of the Incorporated Society of Authors, she would have made a better showing of earnings, but circulation is not invariably a measure of the earning power of a novel, and a certain class of fiction may still have a large sale without bringing to its producers as much as three hundred pounds a year.

But let an author have the ability to produce fiction of a kind that hits the popular taste—to start his career with a *Prisoner of Zenda,* a *Bonnie Briar Bush,* a *Stickit Minister,* a *King Solomon's Mines,* a *Manxman* or a *Christian;* let him be able to do strong and admirable work without any claim to such pre-eminence as Scott's, Dickens's, Thackeray's or George Eliot's; let his most partial critic be unable to exalt him above Bulwer, Reade or Trollope, and though the emoluments from his work may not surpass those received by the first group of writers when they were at their zenith, they far exceed those of the second group.

I have before me a letter written by Charles Reade to a certain editor refusing to accept so large a sum as the editor had offered on the ground that it was too much! "In my view of things, nothing is good that is not durable," he writes, "and no literary business can be durable if the author takes all the profits. Publishers will pay for their whistle, like other people, and will buy a name for more than it is worth unless it is connected with work that is valuable without a name." The terms offered to him on this occasion were $100 per 1,000 words (the vicious custom of fixing the price according to the number of words was prevalent even then), and all he would take was $70 per 1,000 words. Nowadays $100 per 1,000 words is a common fee for literary craftsmen who would hardly dare to claim equality either in enduring merit

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or commercial value with the author of *Never Too Late to Mend*, and in one case I know of $130 per 1,000 words is regularly paid, while in another $175 per 1,000 was once demanded, and though refused in one market, may have been obtained elsewhere. In fact, the author of successful fiction is rapidly approaching the point where he will take all the profit, and the outlook for the publisher is obscured by a hopeless gloom, which is not any more bearable to him from the consciousness that the author sees in it the shadow of retribution. A story illustrative of the relative position of the two is familiar in some of the clubs, and may be repeated here, though to have full effect it needs the oral mimicry of the sonorous speech and lofty manner of the very successful novelist who tells it of himself. His publisher approaches and says, "Highflyer, I want your next book." "Very good, Buckram, you shall have it." "On what terms, Highflyer?" "Two shillings per copy on a six shilling book." Buckram collapses, being driven to drink in despair, and a week elapses before he reappears with a humbled manner to say, "Highflyer, I accept your terms."

A royalty of two shillings a copy on a book that retails at six shillings a copy could scarcely be afforded by any publisher, no matter how large the editions, but some of the royalties paid in England—not many, but a few—do not fall far short of this dazzling and enviable percentage of "thirty-three and a third" of the retail price. Let us figure on one novel of which I have some information. The author received $18,000 for its use serially in the United States, and about the same sum for its use in an English magazine during the same period—that is, $36,000 in all. When it had run its course through twelve numbers of the magazines, it became his property again to publish in a book. The book was published at six shillings a copy there, and here at a dollar and a half a copy. Altogether, fully one hundred and fifty thousand copies of it (probably more) have been sold, and assuming the royalty to be only twenty per cent., we have $45,000 to add to the previously mentioned $36,000. This gives us a total of $81,000—far more than George Eliot received for her masterpiece or Disraeli in the heyday of his glory as the prodigy of politics and literature for his, or Thackeray, the supreme genius of English fiction, for his. Yet the earning power of the book is

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by no means exhausted. Cheaper editions are to appear, adding to the revenue, and royalties for serial use in far-off colonies, The Cape, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and the rights of translation are still to be reckoned, and then the story is to be turned into a play, which is not likely to bring the author less than $50,000, and may bring him twice or thrice $50,000 more. This, of course, is a very exceptional case, and such a success is not often repeated, but the successful practice of the art of the novelist is in many instances nowadays as lucrative as the practice of law or medicine or painting, which it never was before.

Times have indeed changed, but it is only fiction, and fiction of the popular sort, that has found itself in a golden age. I do not suppose that such writers as Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Lecky, or any of the producers of standard works of philosophy, or history, or criticism, find themselves better off now than they were before.

How, then, can we account for the "boom?" I believe that the principal cause of it is to be found in the recourse of a tired people to fiction as a recreation, and the consequent temptation that exists to withdraw literary ability from other forms of activity to that which pleases the largest number of readers. Stories were never before read so much as they are now, and they are displacing other kinds of books. The author or his agent can exact vastly better terms than he could have done in earlier days. His position has been improved by international copyright, which secures for him a return for his work wherever it is reprinted, and by the enlightenment which the Incorporated Society of Authors has afforded him as to the proper method of dealing with publishers. The multiplication of American magazines, and their impetuosity in presenting the latest sensation at whatever cost, have also augmented his profits enormously. Revenue flows to him from not one but many channels, and when the main stream is exhausted, procreant rivulets spring from minor sources to swell the golden tide of remuneration.

Take the history of one novel I know of. It first appeared as a serial in a magazine, then in the old-fashioned three volume form; then in a single volume at six shillings, and then in "picture boards" at two shillings a copy. Even when the sale of the picture-board edition had run its course, it still had earning capac-

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ity. A provincial daily, unable to afford the cost of original work, even of that manifolded by "syndicates," was willing to pay fifty pounds for the privilege of reprinting it from week to week.

The British author's position is strengthened by the stringency of his own copyright laws also. The American newspaper helps itself freely from the contents of the best periodicals here, seldom acknowledging its indebtedness with more than a grudging line of italics. Freebooting on a similar scale would never be tolerated in England. I remember the case of a Liverpool paper which took or "conveyed," as Pistol would say, a story from the *New York Times*, believing it to be a piece of unprotected American work. It belonged, however, to *The Cornhill Magazine*, and the publishers of that periodical promptly sued the Liverpool editor for infringement of copyright. He explained how he had been mistaken, and made apologies, and had influential friends who interceded for him. The publishers were very sorry, and would have liked to be lenient, but, really, they had suffered so much from similar offenses that they would be obliged to prosecute. Prosecute they did, and the case was compromised only by a payment of nearly one hundred pounds.

Thus it is that, protected in foreign markets as well as at home, and living in a period when his relations with his publishers are stripped of all sentiment and based on the simplest commercial considerations, the popular novelist rises to an affluence not inferior to that of pre-eminent specialists in law and medicine, and earns more than the President of the United States, the Lord Chancellor of England or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The literary agent must not be overlooked in accounting for the "boom." Usually a shrewd man of business, he makes bargains for the author, and pushes all the work intrusted to him after the noisy and mendacious manner of the advance agent of a circus. He flourishes the trumpet and beats the big drum for each of his clients in turn, and if it is Highflyer who has a novel for sale, the possible purchaser is advised that, of all novelists, Highflyer is the one who has the largest sales and commands the highest prices, while if Highflyer is out of the market and Windebagge or somebody else is in it, it is he who is proclaimed paragon. There are agents and agents, of course—some of them entirely unobjectionable; but one of a familiar type seems to think

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that editors and publishers are fools who can be imposed upon to any extent, and who have no judgment of their own and no knowledge of the profession in which he himself is an interloper. The publisher is the author's natural agent, but it is to the benefit of this middleman to create discord between the two, and frequently he succeeds in doing it. His methods, like his manners, are bad, and rather than submit to his extortions and impudence more than one strong house has ceased to consider the work of the authors who are only accessible through him. To a certain extent he might be useful, at least so far as relieving hypersensitive creatures from the irritation almost unavoidable in business transactions, but he is not content with so simple an office. The more manuscripts he sells and the higher the price he obtains the larger are his own commissions. The young author in his hands who has made a success at the start, is not allowed to choose his own time for further work and to prepare for it, but is urged and tempted to add book to book until he becomes a diffuse and tedious hack, undesired by anybody, undesired even by the literary agent himself. An instance occurs to me: The young author was "boomed" so persistently that in order to fulfill his orders he had to rise at four in the morning, and then, sitting down with a type-writer before him and a phonograph at his elbow, he would carry along two stories at once. His first book was an instant success when it appeared a few years ago, but his last manuscript, delivered "as per invoice" in the words of the agent, has been rejected by thirteen different periodicals, and is still in the market. "As per invoice" expresses the agent's view of literature precisely.

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

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THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF KOREA.

BY HOMER B. HULBERT.

THESE are red-letter days for the little empire of Korea. Never since the year 1122 B. C. has she known complete independence until within the past few months. During all those years there was never a time when her allegiance was not demanded by one or other of her neighbors, and when influences and forces, over which she had no control, were not moulding her to their own designs. To-day she owes allegiance to no one, and no power stands behind the throne to threaten or cajole its royal occupant into any course of action that does not meet with his own approval. It may not be uninteresting to follow out the steps which have led to this result.

When the Manchus, in the middle of the seventeenth century, overran Korea, brought the king to bay in the mountain fortress of Nam-han and there forced an abject surrender, they set up a stone on which was carved the evidences of Korea's vassalage to China. In one sense it was vassalage, and in another it was not. China never claimed the right to regulate her internal policy nor to meddle with her foreign policy. Her attitude toward the peninsular kingdom has always been that of a patron rather than that of a master. She more than once disclaimed responsibility for Korea's misdeeds, and disavowed any active interest in the affairs of the peninsula. From time immemorial it has been customary for Korea to send an annual embassy to Peking to present the compliments of the King and offer some small token of allegiance. While the Emperor accepted these signs of vassalage, he never took upon himself to do more than advise in regard to Korean affairs.

Such was the condition of affairs in the peninsula when in 1864 the present King, now Emperor, came to the throne. The

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deceased King had left no heir and the duty of nominating his successor devolved on the one who should secure pessession of the royal seals. The Queen Dowager Cho entered the apartment where the King lay dying and succeeded in getting the seals from the Queen, who did not dare to refuse, since the Dowager was her senior. As successor to the throne a boy twelve years of age was nominated, who belonged to a collateral branch of the royal family. At that age he was, of course, not able to handle the reins of government, and his father, the celebrated Tai Wun Kun, became Regent until he should attain his majority. This Regent was a man of indomitable will, striking personality and tenacity of purpose. Whatever may be said of his mistakes, his rule was never less than strong. Royalty in Korea has often been so surrounded and hedged in that the nominal ruler has had little to do in the work of administering the government, but it was not so in his case. He was the actual as well as nominal ruler.

One of the first questions that came up after his assumption of the Regency was in reference to the opening of Korea to foreign influences. This question was introduced in a way that delayed the opening of the country for at least a decade and a half. Roman Catholic mission work had been carried on in Korea for nearly a century, sometimes by native converts alone, but more often by French priests, who entered the country early in the century. From the very first it was a proscribed religion, and at four different times severe persecutions have decimated the Church. In 1839 three French missionaries were executed. France, beyond sending threatening letters, did nothing by way of reprisal, and this naturally gave Korea a false sense of security, for she thought that what France did not do she could not do. For a full decade before the accession of the Regent to power, the government had been in the hands of a party that, while not favorable to Christianity, adopted a tolerant position. With the death of that King, however, the reins of power passed over into the hands of a party that was violently opposed to Christianity, and trouble was sure to follow. It is not certain that the Regent was at first inimical to the Church, for we are told by those who are conversant with the history of those days, that on one occasion he was about to use the Bishop as a commissioner to the Russians in the north, in order to persuade them not to push the matter of reciprocity of trade across the border. It is not un-

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likely that the Regent was only negatively opposed to the Romanist propaganda, but he was forced to stronger measures by the party which had put him in power. However this may be, the matter came to a crisis when the Bishop and eight of his companions were seized and thrown into prison, from which they were brought forth only to meet the executioner's axe. Soon a French fleet, under the command of Admiral Roze, appeared off the coast of Korea and sent messengers to the court demanding redress for the murder of the nine Frenchmen. As this was not answered, the Admiral landed his forces on the island of Kang-wha and stormed the town. But he had miscalculated the strength of the Koreans, and after a considerable party of his men had been entrapped among the mountains and severely handled, he set fire to the town, re-embarked his troops and sailed away, leaving the Koreans to believe that they had been victorious. A general persecution was then ordered, and during the next three years ten thousand Christians were killed, not counting those who perished among the mountains from cold and hunger while trying to evade the persecutors. Thus it appears that Korea's first introduction to foreign powers resulted in her hardening herself to all outside influences and determining to preserve her seclusion.

Shortly before the coming of the French, an American schooner, "General Sherman," had approached the shores of the northern province for the purpose of finding an opening for trade, and though warned by the government to desist, forced its way up the Ta-dong River on a high tide and grounded above the inner bar. The natural result was that the officers and crew were all massacred by the mob, with the acquiescence of the government. In 1871 the United States government took the matter up and sent an expedition under the command of Admiral Rogers to make an attempt to induce the Korean government to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship. A surveying party from the fleet was fired upon by a Korean fort on Kang-wha, and a party was promptly landed and the fort taken, though every man of the garrison was shot down in the process. The mistake of the French was repeated, and when the Koreans saw the fleet sail away to China they felt sure that another of the great powers of the West had been humbled. The Regent erected a monument in the center of the city, on which was in-

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scribed a fierce denunciation of any man who should dare mention the subject of treaties with the "barbarians."

In 1873 the Regent was compelled to retire, for the King had long ago reached his majority and a new party had arisen, with the Queen as its patron. The cardinal point in the policy of this party was opposition to every plan of the Regent, in consequence of which the Japanese demand for the ratification of a treaty was acceded to and the document was signed at Kang-wha. In 1882 occurred the soldiers' rebellion, during which the Queen fled south for safety and the Regent was put back in power. The ousted party appealed to the Chinese for help, not because they liked the Chinese, but because without their help they could not regain their lost position. A Chinese force arrived, the Regent was spirited away to China and the Queen returned to Seoul and her party to control.

From this time on, Chinese influence was overwhelming in the peninsula. A strong effort was made in 1884 to put it down, but without success. The Chinese had not, before 1882, laid claim to a right to interfere in Korean internal affairs, but now that an opportunity presented China resurrected her ancient claim to full suzerainty and tried to show the world that Korea was a vassal as well as a tributary state. She broke her convention with the Japanese by sending troops to Korea without first notifyng the Japanese Government and the Japanese made this a *casus belli*.

The immediate net results of the war to Japan may be summed up as follows: (1.) The independence of Korea is guaranteed; (2.) Japan shows the world her military power; (3.) the weakness of China is demonstrated; (4.) Japan gets a large indemnity. But China's necessity was Russia's opportunity. By forcing Japan to retrocede the Liao-tung peninsula, Russia established a claim upon China which she has not failed to press. It was a double opportunity, for it cleared the way for her advance to the Yellow Sea, and it relieved her of all fear of armed opposition from China. It appears, then, that while Japan gained fame and a few dollars, Russia gained an ascendency in Peking that was worth more than fame and a war indemnity. It might have been expected that Japan would maintain her ascendency in Korea, but here fortune went against her. She miscalculated the endurance of the king, and one fine morning Japan awoke to the fact that the king was cozily housed in the

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Russian Legation. From that moment Japanese influence was dead in Korea. The last semblance of her power had gone. Her money and time had been wasted, for the nominal independence of Korea looked dim that morning when the sun rose upon the Russian Legation turned into a palace.

And now a new aspect has been given to Korean affairs. After gaining the overwhelming ascendency in Korea, after placing her agents at the head of Korean finances and in charge of her army, and that without fear of resistance from any power, Russia suddenly abandons the ground, withdraws her supervision of the finances and the army, and puts everything back into the hands of the Korean government. To-day Korea stands at a point which she had never attained before. From 1122 B. C. she was China's vassal until 1894 A. D. From about 500 A. D. until 1870 Japan claimed suzerainty also, and enforced it from time to time. From 1894 until 1896 Japan directed affairs in Seoul, and from 1896 until a few weeks ago Russia has been all-powerful. But to-day the definite withdrawal of Russian supervision leaves Korea an absolutely independent power for the first time in her history of over three thousand years.

It is hardly pertinent to inquire into the reasons for Russia's abandonment of Korea. They are probably known only in the council-chamber of the Czar. Many conjectures have been made; her more important work in China, her desire to propitiate the Korean people who are so violently opposed to her work there, the desire to conciliate Japan, and thus secure her neutrality in case of war. All these have been put forth as the reasons for the move, but none of them seems to fit the case perfectly. The last is, however, the most plausible. Whatever the reason may be, we can rest assured that it is in perfect accord with her policy of steady advance in the East, and that it does not mean the ultimate abandonment of any coign of vantage. If she abandons Korea to-day it is only to gain some greater advantage at some other point or at some other time.

As Korea sets out in the course of absolutely independent empire it is of interest to inquire what her equipment is and on what forces she may depend in carving out a career.

In the first place the spoils system is one of the heirlooms of the realm. From time immemorial the sweets of office have been the most tempting thing that Korean life had to offer. It has

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been the swiftest if not the only road to fortune, and nepotism is a recognized principle in the distribution of the good things. This has been specially true since the year 1575, which beheld the formation of the great political parties. They originated in a petty quarrel between two of the officials, and such a thing as a platform or a policy has never been known among them. Their only reason for existence is that they facilitate the redistribution of the offices when there is a change of administration, or when, by hook or crook, the "outs" become the "ins." If a man wants to gain office he must join one or other of these parties and become identified with them.

Secondly, Koreans have the same low opinion of a military career that prevails in China, and which always did and always will make a strong army an impossibility. When to become a soldier is to drop into well-nigh the lowest social stratum, and when military rank always gives way to civil rank, no man who aspires to make a career for himself will enter the army. It is only a possible stepping-stone to something better, and so good discipline and good service are alike impossible. Every soldier knows his general would leave the service in a moment if a civil office of corresponding grade were open to him; the general knows that every soldier who would become possessed of an acre of land or enough money to stock a street booth would desert the army. As a consequence the army shares with the Buddhist monasteries the distinction of being the receptacle of the indolence and worthlessness of the country.

These are the two disadvantages under which the kingdom works, and they form, indeed, a heavy handicap; but in spite of it all there are many hopeful factors which tend to neutralize these factors.

In the first place the removal of all superintendence of a foreign nature removes a temptation which parties have been subjected to, of leaning up against the foreign power and acting in an arbitrary way, knowing that their backers would support them. To-day every party stands on its own footing and enjoys the moral support of no outside power. This may prove a benefit or it may prove an unmitigated evil. A few years ago it would probably have proved the latter, but during the last two years there has been a rapid education of the people of Korea through the columns of *The Independent*, a paper in the native speech of Korea, edited

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by a naturalized American citizen who is of Korean birth. The Koreans have come to know what good government might be, and no party would be rash enough to ignore a popular demand for decent administration if that demand were loudly made. There is to-day such a thing as public spirit among a large class of the Korean people, and it is sure to increase rather than diminish. It is to be hoped that absolute independence and consequent responsibility will have a sobering effect upon party rapacity, and that the Koreans in power will try, at least, to carry out the plans for the betterment of the country which foreign superintendence has pointed out.

Again, Korea possesses a customs service that is excelled nowhere in the world. At its head are Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians and representatives of other Western lands who, while not interested in politics, exert a powerful influence for good upon the whole management of the country. The five open ports of Korea may expect to become model settlements, as three of them, indeed, already are. The growing import and export trade is slowly leavening the whole interior of Korea and enlightenment cannot but result. The growing coastwise trade, by rendering local famines next to impossible, will make less probable such popular uprisings as that of the *Tong-haks* and the "Righteous Army," for these originated, as all uprisings in Korea do, in lack of food. This, in turn, should render less necessary the maintaining of a standing army. Only such force would be necessary as the thorough policing of the country would demand.

The industrial enterprises which have sprung up in the peninsula are of great importance, although they are as yet limited to less than half a dozen ventures. The railroad that is soon to be opened between the capital and its seaport will be an object lesson that cannot fail to have great influence in giving the people a taste for modern things. The mining concession in the north is breaking down the ancient prejudices of the people who, from the earliest times, have feared the evil spirits of the earth more than they have coveted the wealth that lay hidden beneath. The electric street car plant that is on its way from America will introduce the Koreans to the greatest mechanical mystery of the century, and, by showing them the limitations of their own knowledge and skill, will make them push forward to the attainment of better things.

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Educational enterprise has secured a sound footing in the country. A thorough English school is doing much to lay the foundation for and to give a taste for a general education, as distinguished from the narrow curriculum of the Chinese classics, which as yet forms the whole of a Korean education. A normal school under foreign instruction is preparing men to take in hand the work of public instruction throughout the country as fast as the prejudices of the people will permit. Schools for French, Japanese and Russian also flourish, and the government seems to realize that these diverging lines of education are necessary to the welfare of the country. Mission schools are doing much to popularize the pursuit of a well rounded education as well as to instil the principles of Christian morality into the minds of the people.

It may be confidently believed that there lies in store for Korea no social cataclysm like that which swept over Japan thirty years ago, and which has borne such marvelous fruit. The Korean is more like the Chinese. Whatever changes come, they will come gradually, after being tested thoroughly; but once having come they will remain. There will be no such reaction as that which Japan has seen during the past half decade. The conservative temperament is not all bad. Social inertia is as natural and as necessary as physical inertia.

The way of a bird in the air, of a snake on a rock and of a man with a maid are all proverbially difficult things to prophesy about, but perhaps not more so than the turn that political events will take in the far East. Whatever happens, Korea will be an interested spectator, perhaps an active factor. Now that all foreign control has been thrown off, it is difficult to see what combination could draw Korea into the maelstrom of war, unless it be that she might form fighting ground for others. Perhaps we may apply to Korea the words used by Pere Hyacinthe, in speaking of Judea: "*The Little States!* They are constituted by the hand of God, and I trust in Him that they never will be removed. He has placed them between the Great States as a negation to universal empire, a pacific obstacle to the shocks of their power and the plots of their ambition."

HOMER B. HULBERT.

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THE CARRYING TRADE OF THE GREAT LAKES.

BY ALLAN HENDRICKS.

EVERY well established system of water transportation has developed for itself the type of vessel that will best and most economically perform its services, and these types vary as widely as the conditions of the different trades in which they ply. The steamboat of the Mississippi River and its tributaries has long been considered the most distinctive of all American steam craft; but in the last few years there has been evolved upon the Great Lakes a model of freight carrier that is almost as individual as the Western river boat.

This type, to which all the largest lake freight carriers of recent build belong, and which is by far the most economical vessel for the conveyance of such freights as form the main items of Great Lake commerce, differs widely in design and construction from the ocean freighter or the older lake craft. The conditions under which transportation upon the lakes is carried on are by no means those that control on the ocean, and the requirements of each sort of transportation have produced the vessel best fitted to serve its ends. In length and in beam the new lake boats compare favorably with the better class of ocean-going cargo boats, but their depth is only two-thirds that of many of the latter. The carrying capacity of boats built on the lake model far exceeds that of ocean vessels of the same draft; in fact, of two boats of equal length and beam, one a lake freighter of the latest model and the other a salt water vessel, the lake steamer will carry as much on a draft of nineteen feet as will the ocean freighter on a draft of twenty-six feet. Two considerations which the lake shipbuilder constantly has in mind are, first, great carrying capacity on shallow draft, and second, such construction as will permit the greatest speed in loading and dis-

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charging the coarse freight for which the vessel is designed. Perhaps the most radical departure from the style of vessel employed on salt water was brought about by the remarkable development of the iron ore trade, which in tonnage is now the greatest of lake shipments.

The commerce of the Great Lakes has grown in an astonishing degree. The United States government already has done much in the way of improving the channels and harbors of the system, and the increase in the number and size of the vessels forming the lake merchant marine has kept pace with the deepening of the waterways, or rather it has been retarded only by it. The depth of water in the inter-lake passages at present is only sufficient for vessels drawing seventeen feet, but improvements now under way contemplate a navigable depth of almost nineteen feet. The new freight boats are designed to carry full cargoes on a draft of about twenty feet, and it is probable that before many years further improvements will give that depth throughout the lakes. These boats have very flat bottoms, lines that are by no means graceful, and a large number of hatchways, so spaced as to suit the docks and elevators of the lake ports. The midship section of such a vessel closely resembles that of a rather shallow box, and this not only in its exterior shape, but also in its unbroken interior space. The heavier weather that ocean vessels have to meet demands stronger construction than is required in the lake craft, and because of their lightness and simplicity of design, the latter cost less in proportion to their tonnage than do the steamers of the high seas.

In most of the new lake freighters there is no deck between the spar deck and the water bottom, and the bulkheads are few in comparison with the number on an ocean vessel. The water bottoms are safeguards against damage by grounding in shallow channelways, and they also give stability when, as frequently happens, vessels must go westward without cargo to load at up-lake ports. The engines are placed in the extreme stern in order not to interfere with the rapid handling of freight, and as the speed required is not great, high power is unnecessary. The coal bunkers are small, and all the machinery is less powerful and less expensive than that on an ocean-going cargo boat. The docks at which these large lake vessels load and discharge their cargoes are supplied with facilities for transferring freight with

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a speed not attained in any ocean port, and hence the boats do not carry the many winches and derricks of salt water freighters.

Such are the vessels of the new lake fleet, designed to engage in the grain, iron ore, and coal trade. So far as their internal plan is concerned, the cargo capacity is cut by the bulkheads into a few large spaces, each of which is reached by several very broad hatchways. Into these spaces the bulk freight for which the boats are built is loaded with remarkable despatch, but in such vessels freight of that description only can profitably be carried. Ocean steamers, or lake steamers engaging in more general trade, must be of a design such as is suitable for a miscellaneous cargo in order that any freight may be loaded. The older vessels of the lake fleet, except for their small size, more nearly approach the ocean-going type. So rapid has been the evolution of the present lake freighter, and so different is it from the older craft, that the latter have lost value out of all proportion to their age.

The value of the Great Lakes system as an avenue for water transportation may be shown by a glance at the shipping upon it. The registered tonnage of the merchant marine of the United States upon salt water is 838,187, while that upon the lakes is 1,324,068. Statistics compiled by the United States Commissioner of Navigation show that on June 30, 1895, the number of steam vessels of 1,000 tons or over then plying the lakes was 360, whereas the number of such vessels registered on the entire seaboard was 309, including the great Atlantic steamers of the American line. It is further shown that the combined tonnage of the 360 lake vessels was 643,260 gross tons, while the gross tonnage of the 309 vessels sailing other waters was 652,598. According to the same statistics there were on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts at that date 626 iron or steel vessels aggregating 596,680 gross tons. On the lakes there were 194 such vessels, but their aggregate tonnage was 301,753. Thus the average gross tonnage of boats of that class on the lakes was 1,555, whereas that of coast vessels was 953.

These figures may seem surprising to the summer wanderer who regards the lakes principally as comfortable hot-weather resorts. Nevertheless it is true that barring one line of passenger steamships upon the Atlantic, the average size of lake steamers is much greater than that of the American salt water fleet. Nor is the tonnage of the vessels out of proportion to the amount of

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freight seeking transportation by them, although there has been much wild guessing as to its volume. It is impossible to be exact in stating the aggregate annual freight movement on the lakes, for the reason that government customs regulations permit vessels to take on or discharge freight at intermediate points without giving an account of its amount. A committee of the Lake Carriers' Association reported in January, 1896, that slightly less than thirty million net tons of freight had been carried by vessels passing the city of Detroit in the year 1895. This statement was based in part upon estimates, and it does not include the commerce between ports on the upper lakes, such as that between Duluth and Chicago. There are about twice as many clearances of vessels from lake ports as there are from all the seaports of the United States. This, however, seems less astonishing when it is remembered that inasmuch as the voyages are short, one vessel clears many times in the course of a season. It must also be remembered in all computations of lake commerce that while there is more or less local traffic on the lower lakes during the entire year, the season for through shipment lasts only while the waterways connecting the lakes are unclosed by ice. Nor should it be forgotten that the figures are of tonnage only; ocean freights are of much greater intrinsic value.

Although the United States can claim no commercial supremacy upon the high seas, the commerce of the great lakes is almost entirely hers. Only eleven per cent of the tonnage registered upon the lakes is Canadian. Not alone in a commercial sense do the Great Lakes belong to the United States; much more than half the surface of the lake system lies within the limits of this country. It is a system by no means insignificant in size. From Duluth, at the head of Lake Superior, to Ogdensburg, near the foot of Lake Ontario, the eastern lake port of the United States, the distance is 1235 miles. No other inland waterway equals it in size or in advantage of position, and the shipping upon it attests its importance to the country. The growth of that shipping is remarkable; probably the history of commerce does not show its counterpart, yet it has by no means attained its greatest proportions. Beyond question its development would be stimulated by the construction of a waterway through which lake freights could reach the ocean without their bulk being broken. At Buffalo, the Erie canal, now being improved by the State of

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New York to a navigable depth of eight feet, connects Lake Erie with the Hudson River, but all over the Great Lake basin there is a demand for a deeper canal to tidewater.

The project for a canal by which lake steamers should be enabled to reach the Atlantic is no new thing, and for more than ten years it has been strongly advocated by those interested in the commerce of the lakes. A number of routes for such a waterway have been proposed, but as yet no survey of any one of them has been completed. Owing in great part to the efforts of the Deep Waterway Association, a body composed of men actively concerned in lake shipping, Congress in 1895 created a Deep Waterways Commission for the purpose of investigating the feasibility of building such a canal "as shall enable vessels engaged in ocean commerce to pass to and fro between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean." Early in the year following, the commission reported that such a canal should ultimately have a depth of twenty-eight feet, and that the government would be justified in undertaking the work. It further recommended that surveys be made for such a canal. Later in the same year Congress appropriated funds for the purpose, and the surveys are now being made.

While the Deep Waterways Commission were engaged upon their labor, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to have made an examination and estimates of cost of a canal "of sufficient capacity to transport the tonnage of the lakes to the sea." Whatever the purpose of Congress may have been, the act was less particular in its terms than the one previously passed, and it allowed an investigation into the question of what depth of canal would be best in the light of all the interests involved. By direction of the Secretary of War a preliminary examination was made by Major Thomas W. Symons, of the Engineer Corps. After careful consideration of the subject Major Symons reported that a ship canal capable of floating a large ocean steamer would not be of sufficient benefit to justify its construction; but that a canal of about 12 feet depth, designed to carry barges of about 1500 tons burden, such as could safely be towed to any part of the Great Lake system, would meet the demands of commerce and should be built.

Two propositions are thus before Congress: first, to construct a 28 foot waterway from the lakes to tidewater, at a total

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cost of more than $300,000,000, for the surveys of which the sum of $150,000 already has beeen appropriated; and second, to build a similar canal of a depth of 12 feet, at a cost of about $50,000,000.

It has become apparent that the vessels of the old lake fleet are not able to compete with the larger modern cargo carriers on the same waters. Nevertheless, in order to secure the maximum usefulness of these new vessels and thus enable them to cut rates to the lowest figure, they must be able to carry full cargoes. In order to permit this, further dredging than that at present under way will be required. What was sufficient in 1890 is insufficient to-day; then 2,500 tons was thought a large cargo on the lakes, whereas 5,000 tons is now common. It must be remembered that through freight rates are established by the large vessels, and it is said that were they able to load to their full capacity they could be operated at a profit on rates much lower than are now charged. What the deepening of the channels means to lake commerce may be shown by a statement made by the builder of one of the large steel ore-carriers recently added to the fleet. He estimated that on a draft of 14½ feet the boat would carry 4,180 tons, and that on a draft of 19 feet it would carry 6,680 tons. The estimate on light draft has been proved by trial to be within the capacity of the vessel, and there is no reason to doubt that the heavier can be carried on the given draft when the connecting channels of the lake system are deep enough to permit it.

Freight boats on the lakes now meet a stronger competition by the railways than ever before, and in this the railways have aided themselves by establishing, between advantageous ports, ferry lines upon which loaded cars are carried, thus enabling them to transfer their freight across a lake without unloading it. The heavy terminal and transfer charges at Chicago are said to have had much to do with the growth of the car ferry system. Inasmuch as a large part of the weight of every car ferry cargo consists of cars, it would seem that the cost of transporting merchandise by car ferry must be very great, and that the maintenance of such ferry lines in places where they are not absolutely necessary is thus a matter of doubtful expedience. Nevertheless, there are more than a dozen lines operating on the lakes. The capacity of the largest ferry is about thirty cars. Of them the one best known is the *Sainte Marie*, plying across the Straits of Macki-

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nac, which is able to crush her way through three feet of ice. Besides the car ferries, many of the larger railways having important lake ports on their routes either own, or operate in connection with, lines of steamers, and thus are able to bill through freight advantageously by a combination of land and water transportation.

The canals built by the United States on the Great Lake system are free in every respect. Of these, that at Sault Ste. Marie is the most important. Nor is its importance only local; in point of tonnage it is the greatest canal in the world. By means of it and the locks at its lower end vessels are enabled to pass the falls of the St. Mary's River, down which the waters of Lake Superior flow to the lower lakes. There are now two locks in the American canal at the "Soo," and one in the canal on the Canadian shore. The American locks lie side by side, and a vessel may pass the falls through either one.

These canals are open to navigation during a season of about 222 days; for the remainder of the year they are closed by ice. In the season of 1895, 17,956 vessels passed through the locks, of an aggregate net registered tonnage of 16,806,781, carrying 15,062,580 tons of freight, the estimated value of which was $159,575,130. During the twelve months of that year, 3,334 vessels, of a net registered tonnage of 8,448,246 passed through the Suez Canal. By way of further comparison, it may be roughly stated that in the same year thirty thousand vessels, with a tonnage of thirty millions, entered and cleared at the ocean and gulf ports of the United States, The tonnage of the St. Mary's Falls Canal represents almost the entire commerce of Lake Superior, as very little of the trade on that lake is local. In 1870, there passed through the canal 691,000 tons of freight; in 1880, 1,734,800 tons; in 1890, the tonnage had increased to 9,041,213, and it bids fair to grow yearly for a long time to come. The freight traffic through the canals in 1897 was almost 2,000,000 tons greater than in the previous year. In spite of this there were fewer vessel passages, thus showing the increase in the size of ships employed. Measured by value, the greatest shipments through the canal are flour, wheat, iron ore, copper, lumber and coal. Of these the first five are carried to Eastern markets; the coal is loaded for the return trip, and the west-bound tonnage, most of which is coal, is only about three-eighths of that east-bound.

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A small proportion of the vessels equipped with sails navigate by means of their sail power. These craft ply between intermediate ports and do not engage in through trade from the head to the foot of the Great Lake system. All of them are schooner-rigged, and most of them are towed by steamers, using their sails to aid them only when the wind is fair. Some are thoroughly seaworthy craft, able to fight their way through any weather, but others are bluff tow barges with sail power inadequate for general navigation. In several of the trades on the lakes, particularly the transportation of iron ore, it is the practice to employ fleets of such barges drawn by steamers. This method of transportation is the result of the need for carrying large quantities of heavy bulk freight on shallow draft. It is probable that with increased depth of water it will be less used, although for a number of years it has proved serviceable and economical in the coastwise coal trade on the Atlantic. Such a method of freight-carrying would not be practicable in long voyages on the rougher seas, and the question of its expediency on the lakes yet seems to be somewhat doubtful. In late years steam towing machines have been much used upon the lakes, and by their aid some of the greatest physical disadvantages encountered in such navigation have been obviated. The towing machine consists in brief of a drum controlled by steam cylinders, the hawser being passed around the drum and the resistance of the tow being borne by the cylinders. When the strain on the hawser is suddenly increased by the movement of either vessel in a seaway, the drum pays out the hawser to meet it, gathering the cable again when the unusual strain is eased. With such machines steel towing cables are used; by the old method only hemp hawsers were practicable, for the reason that there is no elasticity in steel, and thus it could not stretch when the steamer and her tow were pitching in a sea.

Some of the tow barges are built of steel, and all of the whalebacks, or "pigs," as the lake sailors call them, are so constructed. The whaleback is another distinct type of lake craft, but one that is far outnumbered by the vessels of the model already described. Some of them are provided with steampower, but most of the fleet are tow barges. The first whaleback was built in 1887. The purpose of the designer was to make a vessel that would be cheap and at the same time have great carrying

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capacity. It was also claimed that on account of their peculiar shape they would more readily answer the strain of a tow rope. In spite of the claims of their builders, whalebacks have not found general favor in the sight either of lake vessel owners or of sailors. In appearance they are exceedingly awkward craft, but the freshwater Jackie dislikes them because they are uncomfortable in rough weather, and because, as he says, they "ice-up" badly in the winter season.

On no other waters are cargoes of equal size carried on so shallow a draft, and nowhere else has such rapidity in loading and discharging cargo been attained. In a trade, the season for which lasts through only two-thirds of the year, and where the average cargo is carried under 600 miles, a number of trips must be made in a season, and thus speed in handling cargo assumes an importance that it does not have elsewhere. One thousand bushels of wheat a minute is not an uncommon rate at which to load such a cargo. Iron ore is dumped into vessels at the rate of 1,500 tons an hour, and some of the ore docks on Lake Erie are capable of unloading ore ships of from 3,500 to 5,000 tons in twelve hours. There are several car-dumping machines in use on the lakes, by means of which the contents of ordinary coal cars are readily transferred to vessels. With these machines from fifteen to twenty cars of coal can be emptied in an hour, and vessels of 3,500 tons have been loaded in ten hours. The average time consumed by a vessel of the new lake fleet in handling cargo is said to be about fifty-eight days in a season, and the loss of time on account of weather about 4½ days.

Of passenger boats, the twin white steamers *North Land* and *North West*, plying between Buffalo and Duluth, and the black-hulled *Manitou*, running from Chicago to Mackinac, represent the best development of steamship building upon the lakes. The two first named boats are 383 feet long over all, with a horse power of 7,000 and a speed exceeding 21 miles. The *Manitou* is 295 feet over all. These are exclusively passenger boats, and in equipment equal most of the Atlantic liners. Of lake freight boats the *Coralia*, the *Sir Henry Bessemer*, and the *Sir William Siemens*, duplicate vessels, are the finest examples. They are 432 feet over all, with a beam of 48 feet and a depth of 28 feet. The largest of the Canadian fleet is the *Manitoba*, 303 feet over all, with a gross tonnage of 2,615.

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The sailor of the Great Lakes has no easy berth; perhaps some phases of his life are harder than those of his salt water brother. In almost every case he has acquired his knowledge of seamanship upon the water he sails, and it is his habit to look down on ocean navigation as an occupation requiring less skill and hardihood. Fierce storms sweep the cruising grounds of each of them, but while the salt water mariner meets rough weather on the open sea, or with land close aboard on but one side of him, the lake sailor is never very far from a lee shore. He is at all times sailing waters more crowded than any part of the Atlantic highway, and from time to time he must pick his course through shallow channels that not only are thronged with shipping, but in themselves are narrow and intricate. It should be remembered, too, that most of the lake harbors are only river mouths, with from 150 to 300 feet of entrance-way, and in most cases they have very small area within. Frequently it is no easy task to enter such a harbor when the wind is blowing a gale and the sea is running high, and the presence of other craft increases the hazard. The shoals which lie outside some of the harbor mouths add to the danger, particularly when the sea is heavy. Vessels are wrecked each year while attempting to enter port. Storms come quickly and with little warning on the Great Lakes, and even in summer these waters sometimes are swept by gales that force the strongest vessels to seek shelter. Moreover, owing to the shortness of the season, lake captains endeavor to keep their vessels in service up to the last possible day, and thus as late as October or November, when navigation is most dangerous, but when the grain crop is moving and freights are high, they brave weather that a more prudent class of seamen would not face.

The lake captain has no knowledge of the science of navigation. Never is he out of sight of land for any length of time, and he must know his route almost as a river pilot knows the stream he sails. In truth, so far as following his course goes, the lake captain is a pilot rather than a seaman. His steering is by compass and the shore line; never does he watch for the sun in order to ascertain his position by an observation. He depends in a large measure upon landmarks in finding his way, and when they are hidden by fog or a snow squall he must make the best guess he can. He has always at least one port to make in a day,

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and sometimes two or three. In each of them there is enough routine work to keep him busy until he sails again. If he commands a freight boat he often has to shift his vessel from one dock to another, perhaps several times, in order to pick up all his cargo. No pilot meets him off a harbor to share his responsibility and steer his vessel in. He must not only keep the deck during storms and when entering and leaving port, but also during fogs and when the dense smoke from the forest fires of autumn lies on the water, for such well-travelled thoroughfares as he sails demand eternal vigilance. In harbor and at sea, the lake captain's duties are many and his hours of labor long.

The loss of life upon the lakes is said to be greater than that upon the ocean in proportion to the number of sailors employed, although it is much less than formerly. On March 1, 1895, 4,946 vessels were registered on the Great Lakes. During that season of navigation 63 vessels, of an aggregate net tonnage of 48,975, were totally lost, while very many times that number were wrecked or damaged, but not so seriously as to unfit them for future service.

The chief problem in Great Lake navigation to-day is the depth of water. The work of the government in the way of improvement heretofore has been in the deepening and widening of the connecting channels, the dredging and constructing of harbors, and the protecting of waterways. It is possible that a slight but general lowering of the lake levels has resulted, while at the same time the depth of water in the channels has been increased. It does not seem improbable that the further deepening of the channels, the outflow from the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, and the construction of canals now under consideration by the government, will still further lower the levels. To offset this it is now strongly urged that a system of dams equipped with large discharge gates be built at the outlets of the lakes in order that the levels above may be raised, or at least maintained at mean stages. The plan is an adaptation of one that has long been employed by loggers on northwestern rivers. There seems little doubt that the outflow of the Chicago Canal will have an appreciable effect on the level of Lake Michigan. Estimates of the probable fall vary from three inches to one foot. In many of the Lake Michigan ports this will be a matter of very serious importance, for the harbors are already very shallow. In fact, this

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is true of most of the harbors of the Great Lake system; the depths, as a rule, range from 16 to 18 feet, and many of them are maintained at that stage only by constant dredging. Even without such outlets as the Chicago Canal and the proposed ship or barge canal to the sea, the water levels of the lakes appear to be receding, although insufficient data make it difficult to say how much. The stage of water fluctuates constantly; it is highest in midsummer, and lowest in midwinter or early spring, and the rise and fall varies from one to four feet according to the rainfall. It is seldom that unusually high or low water occurs in all of the lakes at the same time.

The Great Lakes, with their inter-lake channels, have a water surface of 95,965 square miles, and a coast line in the United States of 3,075 miles. The sailing distance from Duluth to Buffalo is 997 miles, and from Chicago to Buffalo the course measures 929 miles. Lake Superior, with an area a little less than that of the State of Maine, is the largest, deepest and most beautiful of the Great Lakes, as it is the highest above the level of the sea. Despite the almost arctic climate of its winter season, the lake never freezes over, although ice closes the harbors and sometimes makes out from the shore for several miles. The snow squalls that sweep the lake with varying frequency during nine months of the year add greatly to the danger of its navigation, while fogs may shut in upon it any time. Its mean level is 601 feet above the sea. St. Mary's River, through which its waters flow to the lower lakes, falls 18½ feet at Sault Ste. Marie.

Lake Michigan and Lake Huron are 580 feet above the sea level, and they are respectively 330 and 263 miles in length. Lake Erie is 250 miles long and has an average depth of only 30 feet in its western portion, while at its deepest point it is only 90 feet. Owing to its shallowness the water of the lake is very easily disturbed by storms, and for this reason lake sailors consider its navigation particularly hazardous. The result of observations upon Lake Erie show that several storms have caused differences in level between the two ends of the lake of from 12 to 15 feet. The mean level is 571 feet above the sea.

Lake Ontario is the smallest and the lowest of the lakes. It is 190 miles long and 245 feet above the sea. The Welland Canal, which connects it with Lake Erie, allows the passage of boats of about 1,700 tons. Lake Ontario has fewer storms n

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either of the other lakes, and it is not often obstructed by ice.

In these days of great competition, every cut in the operating expenses of a common carrier means a corresponding cut in the rates of transportation. In railway service the cost of operation becomes less as the line of road is straightened, the grades cut down, the curves eased, and the weight and carrying capacity of the rolling stocks increased. So upon the lakes the deepening and straightening of the inter-lake channels, the dredging of the harbors, and the employment of larger vessels, have lessened the cost of moving freight and permitted the reduction of rates. Lake freight rates are already very low. Wheat, for instance, for five years, has been carried from Duluth to Buffalo at a lower average rate per mile than such freight has obtained in the trade across the Atlantic. It is probable that on no other haul of equal length in th world are the freight rates so low as on the lakes at the present time, although the limit of reduction has not yet been reached.

As increased carrying capacity is working a reduction of railway operating expenses in proportion to the amount of freight handled, thus enabling railways to reduce their freight rates, so in order to maintain competition with them the vessels of the lake merchant marine must increase in tonnage. To-day the limit to such increase is the depth of water in the connecting channels. With the completion of the projects in execution or under consideration by the government, the largest vessels now sailing the lakes will be able to load to their full capacity. Twenty feet may be considered the maximum draft that will be practicable in lake navigation for many years to come. Before that navigable depth is open from Duluth to Buffalo, lake shipyards will have produced vessels of such increased length and beam measurements that on the given draft they will have almost the carrying capacity of the largest cargo steamers in use to-day upon the ocean. The present tendency is strongly toward the employment of larger vessels, and the astonishing growth of lake traffic would seem to promise that it will always justify the use of the largest carriers the channels will float.

ALLAN HENDRICKS.

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WHICH SHALL DOMINATE—SAXON OR SLAV?

BY THE HON. DAVID MILLS, CANADIAN MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

THE question of the future position of the United States among nations, is one of great interest and importance. Shall she unite with Russia, and endeavor to put an end to Anglo-Saxon leadership in the world, or shall she join with the British Empire in giving additional strength and assured permanency to that ascendancy? For a century the United States has acted upon the advice of Washington and "avoided entangling alliances." Apart from the Civil War, in which slavery perished, her history has been mainly a history of peace, and her condition has not differed, in any marked degree, from that of a self-governing dependency. She has now reached the point where the road parts, and circumstances are forcing her to abandon her position of isolation and to take her place among the great states of Christendom. The problems that now confront her, like those that have confronted the United Kingdom for a century, are as interesting as they are important, and the English-speaking population of the world cannot turn them aside and refuse to give them careful consideration.

Providence seldom lifts the mists which lie in the pathways of states. It seldom permits them to see clearly what lies before them; but there are laws of national growth that deserve careful study, and which, when understood, point, with moderate accuracy, the direction in which both the duty and the interests of a state lie. Sometimes the state's rulers are driven on to conflict by the force of public opinion, and when they undertake to assign the reasons they find them, as justifying causes, wholly inadequate. It may be that a state is losing its moral fibre. It may be that it has not the courage to resist popular clamor. It may be that there is an instinctive feeling prevalent, that hostili-

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ties are necessary in order to escape greater evils. A state may have been called upon to endure no trials, to surmount no difficulties, to make no sacrifices. There is nothing in its political life to awaken noble aspirations. A low feeling of self interest has taken the place of a high sense of public duty, and war may prove to be the only adequate remedy for the political disease. It may prove the most appropriate means for restoring the moral health of the nation, and for impressing upon both the government and the people, nobler ideas of what, as a nation, they are in the world for, than they have hitherto entertained.

> "There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

The growth of states is always a subject of profound interest. The Anglo-Saxon whose mind has not been perverted by prejudice, feels a pride in the fact that he is an Anglo-Saxon —one of a race that for two hundred years has held the first place in the march of humanity. He naturally observes, with interest, those who are treading immediately in the rear, and who are obviously striving to supplant the race to which he belongs, and he cannot well do otherwise than consider the conditions upon which he holds the first place. He is forced to ask himself whether the end of his leadership is approaching; whether he has fulfilled his mission; and whether the standard, which he has long carried, is soon to be wrested from him? Are we, as a race, to be called upon to yield to the Slav the place which we hold, because we are no longer qualified to retain it? Is our race sinking into a condition of lethargy because its energies are spent, and its moral fibre gone? Have we become weary with our constant struggle to overcome difficulties, and in our efforts have we lost the capacity, any longer, to lead?

Analogies have often been instituted between states and persons. It is said that they have alike their period of infancy, of growth, of maturity, and of decay. This, no doubt, has hitherto been so; but is it, equally, a necessary condition in each? Mr. Burke says that the analogy between states and individuals is misleading. They do not belong to the same order of being. States are not physical but moral persons, and are not subject to the same vicissitudes. The fact, however, remains that the world has seen a succession of leading states which have risen to greatness, attained the first place, and have themselves been sub-

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jugated and forced to yield to some other state, which has, in turn, sunk into decrepitude.

This succession of great states as leaders of the world has also been a succession of distinct races, and their history may be summarized by saying that they have risen from obscurity to a controlling place; they have led humanity a certain distance; each has spread itself abroad by the force of arms; each has imposed its thoughts and habits upon the world, has exhausted its energies in the operation, and has finally had its place wrested from it by the superior energy of another race. I take it for granted, because I think it is demonstrated in history, that there is a Divine purpose in the relative condition of states, and that the status of each is mainly dependent upon the courage and the moral vigor of its people; that high character is of more value than mere numbers; and that states do not perish that deserve to survive.

I think it is equally true, moreover, that the nations and races which have led the world were called to represent a distinct group of ideas which were essential to the progress of mankind. It may well be that the lessons which it was necessary that men should learn were too difficult to be all learned at once, and so different races became the repositories of different types of thought; that the world was broken into classes, and each group had assigned to it its own appropriate lesson, until all should be mastered. The order of events, in the lives of great states, must be one of real progression, an order which has, so far, had a beginning, a middle, and an end; and when that end is reached, its life seems rounded off and completed. I am not asserting that everything a state does is a necessary part of the controlling thought which it embodies. It may make mistakes, and these mistakes may hinder and delay its progress; but they are only perturbing influences which, though rendering it unsteady in the course in which it marches, cannot change the general direction of the currents in which its energies flow. A careful study of the history of every great state will always enable us to estimate correctly those influences, and to ascertain the precise purpose which those forces serve by which it is impelled onward. It has been well said by M. Cousin, that the whole history of a state is wrapped up in the ideas which it represents. When these are completely

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developed its work is done. It can no longer move forward, its impelling force is exhausted, its journey is at an end. Where a nation has still progressive life and energy, the institutions which it has outgrown are certain to produce friction, and they must either be destroyed, or modified so as to meet the new condition of things. When a people have spent their force, there is first rest, then decay, and finally disintegration.

When a state is struggling to the front, it has a personality of its own. It is the exponent of new types of thought, of new notions of human well being, and even when its mission is completed, it does not sink into a secondary place without a struggle. "War," says M. Cousin, "is but the bloody exchange of ideas." It is the triumph of the race that brings with it the treasures of the future, over the race that has nothing further to bestow. The great events which serve to exalt one state and debase another, are but "the judgments of God in history." Men sometimes sympathize with a fallen state, not because the state itself deserves that sympathy, but because, to the last, there are among those who stand up for it some who continue to exhibit, in their own persons, its departed excellence.

Is it not possible that a state may continue to possess habits of simple virtue and unwearied energy, so as to keep itself indefinitely in the lead of human progress?

The Anglo-Saxon, in the history of the world, occupies a unique position. He has spread over the world far beyond the limits reached by any of the races that have preceded him. His environment is universal. He is not only placed in new geographical circumstances, but he is everywhere brought in contact with new races whose excellence he is incorporating into his own life. It may be that this may give to the ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon new centers of influence, which will serve to impart to him new life and energy, and thus protect him against the disasters which have overtaken the masters that have gone before him. It never can be too well remembered by statesmen, and by all who wish well to their race, that without moral stamina, without public virtue and public spirit, without self-sacrifice, it is impossible to retain the front rank, as it would have been impossible without these to achieve that position. A race that does not continue to possess these qualities, in the very highest degree, is doomed to failure.

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It is important, too, to bear in mind that these qualities are not absolute but relative; and as those that are in the rear grow in moral strength, they can be retained in that position only by a corresponding growth in those marching in the front.

It is impossible within the limit prescribed to a magazine article to set forth clearly what the people and government of the United Kingdom have gained, in this respect, by what they have accomplished. In Egypt, in the Soudan, upon the Niger, in South Africa, in India, and elsewhere, the people of the United Kingdom are, by their energy and enterprise, gaining in the moral elevation of character, and in the wider and juster view which they are acquiring in respect to their relation to other races with which they have been brought in contact, qualities necessary to keep them to the front. There are millions brought under the dominion of law. Life is rendered more secure. The humble laborer has assured to him the fruit of his toil. Whole nations are, from time to time, rescued from murderous and debasing rites, and millions are living in peace and domestic quiet, over vast areas where before these blessings were wholly unknown. British commerce, it is true, is being extended. That is the reward Providence bestows for the service performed. Regions that were before little better than deserts, in which one class of men were engaged in hunting another class, have gained the blessings of peace, and are laying the foundations of trade. The United Kingdom is doing for large sections of the earth what the inhabitants of the United States are doing, in another way, in that portion of North America over which they have for a century exercised dominion.

It is sometimes asked, How can Russia be a menace? Does she threaten Anglo-Saxon civilization? Is she seeking, for herself, the first place among nations? Let us look at the situation. The sovereignty over a large part of the earth's surface is held by three races: the Spaniards, the English, and the Russians. The Spaniards are of the Latin race, and the supremacy which they once held may be regarded as a short revival, after a long interval, of ancient Rome. I leave, in the consideration of this question, France and Germany out of view. They have already reached the maximum of greatness which their conditions allow. The French no longer go forth to colonize. The emigration

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from France does not much exceed 5,000 a year. Though France may conquer, she cannot colonize. Germany has, in recent years, acquired extensive possessions, but they are in regions where, for the most part, her own people cannot settle, and so, like France, she can only revive a colonial policy of a past age, and shut the gates of commerce in the face of other states. For this reason I leave out of the question both Germany and France, as powers whose seat of empire must remain in Europe, and who can never hereafter be other than subordinate factors in any struggle for supremacy. Spain, though a fallen empire, is in a different position. Nearly 5,000,000 of square miles on this continent are under the dominion of Spaniards. True, the inhabitants are not all of the Spanish race, but Spaniards are the dominant race in all the republics which have sprung from her American possessions. The language, the literature, the religion, and the habits of thought are all Spanish, and to-day the Spanish language is more widely diffused over the world than any other European tongue, the English alone excepted. Though Spain has fallen, indeed, very low, she still possesses some elements of her former greatness which command respect, and there are, here and there, indications, in some of the states which have sprung from her loins, that they are beginning to awake from their lethargy, and to devote themselves to objects more worthy the ambition of their statesmen, than to struggle for first place in revolutionary governments.

It may well be that the results of the present conflict between Spain and the United States may serve to draw Spain and the Spanish-American states into some sort of alliance, and especially is it likely to do so if Spain should become a republic. Among the independent states of Spanish America, the feeling toward the United States has undergone great change. Early in the century, when the Monroe doctrine was originally promulgated, these peoples were seeking protection against Spain, and against the Holy Alliance. They welcomed the promised aid of Monroe and of Canning. They felt that the sympathy and protection of the United States was necessary to secure them against European aggression. The modern Monroe doctrine is a practical denial of the sovereignty of every state to which it is extended, and so it is, everywhere in Spanish America, passively resented. It is

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regarded as a denial, under International Law, of the equality of states and without being a source of strength to the United States on this continent, it may greatly cripple her freedom of action elsewhere.

It has been said that Russia is the political ally of the United States, that the United Kingdom is her hereditary enemy, and that she ought not to throw away the good will of an ancient friend for the support of an ancient enemy. It is argued that the United Kingdom would never seek an alliance with the United States that was not to her own advantage. That may be so, but let us consider this view with more care. Few states have ever sought an alliance that was not believed to be advantageous, either because of the good which it might bring, or of the evil which it might prevent. If it were not advantageous, it would not be sought, and unless it were mutually advantageous, it could not endure, though consummated by the most solemn and formal agreement.

But let us examine closely for a moment the supposed friendship of Russia for the United States. It is not—it cannot be—other than mere words. States do not differ that are never brought in contact, and where there is no contact there is no rivalry, and professions of friendship may do no harm, and can do little good. But what is there between the United States and Russia, in common, that can make them allies? Russia aims at two things—to prevent an Anglo-American Alliance, and to prevent the United States from ever acquiring any voice in the direction of affairs in the Far East. The policy of Russia was not matured in a day. Russia did not withdraw from America until she had possession of the Lower Amour, until she had awakened the fears of Japan, had taken possession of one of her islands and had driven her into the family of nations, where Japan hoped she might find allies among civilized states. Russia intended that the Monroe doctrine should effectually estop the United States from having any voice in the settlement of any Asiatic question. She may say: "You can no more acquire by conquest the Philippine Islands, than Russia or France can acquire Cuba." Russia withdrew from Alaska for two reasons—to exclude the United States from having any voice in respect to questions touching the eastern shore of Asia; and to prevent Alaska, in case any future conflict with the

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United Kingdom should arise, from becoming a part of British America, and it was so understood at the time by every Japanese statesman.

Let us consider the aims of Russia, as shown by what she has attempted and accomplished in modern times. The Russian statesman loves conquest. With him it is a habit of mind. Russia is a great Asiatic power, employing the resources of western civilization to further her ambitious designs. Her conquests are not the outcome of industrial enterprise. They have not sprung from the necessities of commerce. Her acquisitions have not arisen from a desire to find a profitable investment for her capital. They are due entirely to a love of dominion. In the last century, she acquired all the territory lying between her western border, and the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic Sea. She acquired the greater part of Poland and the whole of Crim-Tartary. In this century she has obtained Finland from Sweden, Bessarabia, and a part of Armenia, from Turkey. She has acquired the Caucasus, Georgia, several Provinces of Persia, and the whole country from the Caspian Sea, on the west, to the borders of China, on the east, including Samarcand, Bokhara, Khiva and Merv, besides a large section of north-eastern China. Russia is the one great state of the world that pays no regard to her Treaty obligations longer than it is convenient for her to do so. Her territories cover an area nearly three times as large as the United States, and are being constantly extended. If she finds resistance, at any point, upon her borders, she rests there, and pushes forward her boundaries, where those upon whom she encroaches are not prepared to stay her march. What she acquires is hers absolutely, the trade of the people, no less than her dominion over them. Not the slightest reliance can be put upon her promises. She regards falsehood as a legitimate weapon in diplomacy, as deceit is in war. In Afghanistan, which she declared to be outside of the sphere of Russian diplomacy, and within the sphere of the diplomacy of England, she carried on constant intrigues against English authority. Her representatives sought to stir up rebellion. She endeavored to obtain the consent of its rulers for the construction of a road that would lead to India, and for the purchase of supplies that would support an army of invasion on their march. She never gives up any pur-

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pose which she has once formed. More than eight centuries ago she marched an army of 80,000 men to conquer the Byzantine Empire, and to seize Constantinople. What she then undertook and failed to accomplish, she has never abandoned. It has been from time to time postponed for a more fitting opportunity. She lost six great armies in the march from the Caspian to Samarcand, and two centuries elapsed from the time when she contemplated this conquest before it was consummated. If the Russian Empire holds together, she counts on the conquest of Turkey, of Persia, of India, and of China.

If Russia succeeds in the task to which she has set herself she will hold seventeen millions of square miles of territory, and she will have under her dominion nine hundred millions of people. The fall of the British Empire is regarded by Russian statesmen as essential to the realization of her hopes. Let me ask what would be the position of the world, with so much territory and so many people under one ruler, wielding the power necessary to the realization of his wishes. It is only necessary to study the commercial and industrial policy of Russia to discover that she would trample into the earth every people that might aspire to better their position or to become in any way her rivals. In every department of commerce, and in every field in which greatness might be achieved, her rulers would regard any attempt at success as an attack upon her supremacy.

In the discussion of this question I embrace the United States as a part of the Anglo-Saxon community. I do so because in the present position of the race, and of the work which obviously lies before it, the loss of British supremacy in the world would be scarcely less disastrous to the United States than it would be to the British Empire. It is true that the United States, under the present order of things, has room for further expansion. But the present order of things rests upon Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Even within her existing limits, she may grow for many years to come; and if Turkey, Persia, India, and China were added to the Empire of Russia, the whole position of the world would be completely changed; the condition of things on this continent would be revolutionized. With the power thus centred under Russian control and directed from St. Petersburg, with the Valley of the Euphrates occupied by Russians devoted to agriculture, with the frontiers of that mighty Empire resting upon

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the Indian Ocean, and with the whole commerce of Asia in her possession, Russia would, as a natural consequence of these tremendous additions, become the dominant sea power. The Pacific Ocean would be a Russian Lake, and her eastern frontiers would rest upon the western shore of North America. The British Islands would rapidly diminish in population, until the number of inhabitants would be such as the product of the soil would naturally support. The United Kingdom could no longer be a market for the bread-stuffs of this continent, and European immigration to America would cease. Russia would rapidly grow in wealth and in population, but no country in the Western Hemisphere would do either; for the great markets of the world would be in the possession of a power that would use them to cripple the commerce of any state which would, in any degree, aspire to become her rival.

In the highest sense the United States has not, and cannot have, an independent existence. Her fortune is inseparably associated with the race to which she belongs, in which her future is wrapt up, and in which she lives and moves and has her being. The unity between the United States and the British Empire is a matter both of race and growth. They touch each other, and as peoples unite and great states rise, they must be, for all great international purposes, one people. They are parts of the same race, whose extension is being pushed more and more rapidly forward by the sleepless energy of individual men, under the protection of the United Kingdom, into barbarous regions where they are acquiring new standing room for the formation of new states. In science, in literature, in government, in religion, in industrial pursuits, and in the conception of human rights and of human duties, they are one people, having common aims, a common origin, and from their necessary relations a common destiny.

The very forces which would establish Russian ascendancy over the United Kingdom would in an incredibly short time establish Russian ascendancy in America, in South Africa, and in Australia. The leadership of the Saxon would be at an end and that of the Slav would be begun. It is impossible to follow the course of Russian diplomacy, without seeing that Russia aspires to the possession of all Asia. The aims of Russia concern not only the people of the United Kingdom, but the

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English-speaking people everywhere. Russia was, at one time, overrun by Tartars. She long felt their iron hand of government. They were incorporated with the Slavonic population, and they have impressed themselves in a large degree upon the Russian nation; so that, in their mental make-up, the Russians are quite as much Asiatic as European. Their conceptions of government are Asiatic, and citizens of the United States who advocate a Russian alliance, rather than an alliance with those of their own kin, can never have seriously considered the objects and aims of Russia as a political force in the world.

This, then, is not a question between England and Russia, but it is a question between Saxon and Slav. The danger is a danger not to one state, but to the race to which we all belong. This danger is due to many causes, and among them not the least is the tendency of democratic institutions, which are a marked characteristic of our Saxon civilization. The dangers which spring from this source are not always apparent; and men who toil, and do battle with want, are seldom in a mood to make great sacrifices to ward off perils which they do not think imminent. It is easy to conceive that, in a period of distress, there are millions of freemen, in the British Empire and in the United States, who think only of questions of local and domestic reform. They have before their minds those changes in government which they think will increase their comforts and will relieve them from the evils that are pressing upon them. They refuse to see the consequences which spring from the relations of states. They are not willing to submit to burdens which the struggles for empire may impose, though the statesman sees that what the masses possess can only be retained by a triumph over the larger danger which threatens.

The interests of the world call for Anglo-Saxon alliance. Let not the British Empire and the United States revive, after the lapse of centuries, the old contest of Judah and Ephraim; but, remembering that their interests are one, as the race is one, let them stand together, to maintain the ascendancy which they will hold as long as Providence fits them to lead; which will be as long as, in their dealings with those beneath them, they are actuated by principles of justice and truth.

DAVID MILLS.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR—V.

BY SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, LL.D., SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "THE TIMES" (LONDON).

On the 22d and 23d of July the streets of Washington presented an unseemly and disgraceful aspect. The streets were thronged with disorderly soldiers congregated round the drinking saloons; the side paths crowded with men who belonged to all arms; commissariat carts, country wagons, sutler's vans and ambulances filled with men—some not sober—rolling towards the railway station; General Mansfield, in much distress, running backwards and forwards to restore order, and mounted patrols were set to work to clear the streets.

It is the way with republics at all events, if not with monarchies, to deal promptly with unfortunate generals. The President at once telegraphed to General McClellan, a junior of McDowell and a class-fellow of Beauregard, to take command of the Federal army. General Patterson, who did not succeed in preventing Johnston getting away from Winchester and throwing his battalions on the flank and rear of the Federals, was "honorably discharged." The poor man in his farewell order did not venture to say a word about the regiments, constituting the greater part of his force, which had insisted on leaving as soon as their three months were up, which happened to be the very moment they were about to be of service against the Confederates. I had seen on the morning of Bull Run a magnificent regiment marching away steadily from the field. They actually left a battery in their camp for anyone who liked to take it. McDowell recorded the fact in his historic despatch: "They marched off the field to the sound of the enemy's guns." He did not complain of that now, nor did he say a word against General Tyler, whose inconsiderate movement had caused much mischief. He by no means

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despaired of the situation. He did not blame the men who had run away, but he admitted frankly that the army was not fit to fight. They were disorderly on coming into action and before it; they stopped at streams to drink, delaying all the columns; they wasted the provisions and left themselves without food. The brigades, and even divisions, were not in their places; the men were possessed with delusions about masked batteries and cavalry. As to the plan of attack itself, presuming that Patterson ought to have arrested Johnston's march, no objection could be made. To compare small things with great, Patterson's failure, except that there was no Ligny before him, was like that of Grouchy, who could not arrest the march of Blücher to join the Allied Armies at Waterloo.

That night I dined with M. Mercier, the French Minister, in his pretty house on the heights of Georgetown, where I met Lord Lyons, Mr. Monson, M. Baroche, who had arrived after a tour in the Southern States, Madame Mercier and some other ladies. M. Mercier was firm in the conviction that the Union was gone, and that an attempt to restore it by force would end in tremendous disaster. M. Baroche declared that the Union was as dead as the Achaian League. After dinner a tobacco *concilium*, in which Lord Lyons did not participate as far as tobacco was concerned, was held under the shade of the trees in the garden. Below us flowed the Potomac, and at the other side of the river the Federal flag floated over Fort Corcoran, and from Arlington House, whence the grand army set forth to crush the great rebellion. The plateau was covered with runagates driven out of the city or stopped at the bridges. At that very moment Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were passing through the ruck of the straggling *debris*. The President soon had a striking proof of the terrible disorganization. An officer of the regular army was endeavoring to get the crowd in Fort Corcoran into order. He was menaced with death, because he threatened to have an officer of the Sixty-ninth shot for disobeying his orders. The men of the battalion rushed to the President and complained that Sherman—for it was he—had insulted their officer. When the President inquired into the cause of the tumult Sherman replied: "I told the officer that if he refused to obey my orders I would shoot him on the spot! I repeat it now, sir; if I remain in command here, and any man refuses to obey my orders, I will

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shoot him on the spot." This firmness in the presence of the President overawed the mutineers, and they set about the work that Sherman had ordered them to execute.

Next day I rode with Mr. Monson across the Long Bridge to Arlington House. McDowell got out his plans and maps and put them on a table under a tree in front of his tent to explain the battle. Covered with obloquy, put under his junior, and removed from his command, he displayed a self-possession and amiability, a complete absence of vindictiveness against press and politicians, that marked a philosopher and a man who was conscious that he had done his duty.

A shabby little man with a *bal masqué* conspirator air, introduced himself to me at M. Mercier's, one day, as "Adam Gurowski, at your service, sir, called Count Gurowski in Europe, but I am an American and a republican! What Pole who has suffered as I have from monarchs could be anything else but a republican?" He was an employé in the State Department, to which his qualifications as a linguist, no doubt, made him valuable. He spoke and wrote English, French, German, Russian, Polish—perhaps many other tongues. He had been neck deep in conspiracies all his life—a *carbonaro* with Louis Napoleon, a plotter with Cavaignac, an adviser of Mazzini, proscribed and exiled, a professional barricade-architect, cynical, censorious, sarcastic, and amusing. He spoke with the most profound contempt of Washington politicians, as soon as he had ascertained that he need not be afraid of my repeating his diatribes, and he was indiscriminating in abuse as he was capricious in judgment. The hero of one day was the miserable *fiasco* of the next. He was not disconcerted by having to sing palinodes perpetually. He was well read, a scholar, full of wise saws and modern instances. His comments were amusing, his love of gossip intense, and his thirst for information insatiable. For his Chief, Mr. Seward, he had a lofty contempt—spoke of him as "a grotesque Orbilius, aping the statesman;" and in his soul of souls he hated the vulgar democracy which had clambered into power, though he flamed and burst out into fire when he spoke of the South. He told me many things about the intrigues which he averred were active and potent in the making of the Cabinet. "You dined with them. A strange crew, were they not? All but Chase and Blair. God help this unfortunate Republic!" As I

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did not make any remark, he said, with a sinister smile: "I suppose they thought the *London Times* would be quite converted by eating the President's dinner! They are so shallow and ignorant!" Some of his anecdotes were amusing. He told me he had seen a curious memorandum of Suwaroff in reply to some censure that had been addressed to him by the Minister at St. Petersburgh for sacrificing the lives of his soldiers in brusque assaults of strong places, instead of reducing them by regular siege. The old Muscovite demonstrated that it was far less deadly to storm at once, even though the loss were considerable, than to proceed by regular sap and bombardment, as in the end it would come to storming the breach after losing men daily and nightly by the fire of the place, by sorties, and by sickness.

When the government sent away the British Minister from Washington for alleged infractions of the Foreign Enlistment Act by procuring recruits for the army in the Crimea, the French Minister, M. Mercier, waited upon General or Governor Marcy to expostulate, in the name of the Emperor, with the State Department, for such an unfriendly proceeding towards England, then allied with France in the great war with Russia, and adduced many arguments against Mr. Crampton's treatment in an eloquent appeal for gentler measures. Mr. Marcy listened to the end without saying a word, busily intent on the nice arrangement of his fingers, and then sticking his knife into his desk he asked: "Well, M. Mercier—and how is Madame?"

I had not seen him for some weeks, but the eager, bitter little man came upon me full of notes of interrogation more than once. He was very severe upon poor old Scott. "You see," said he, "if Bull Run had been a victory, the credit would have been given to Scott, who had conducted the campaign from his bedroom. As it is, all the blame will be McDowell's." I was not aware at the time that the Count was keeping a diary, since published, in which he recorded the impressions of the hour and his own opinions—very pretty reading, indeed—or I would have given him a very different reception. But a day or two after the Bull Run letter appeared I met and stopped him as he was scrambling round the corner of Willard's Hotel. "Ah, Mr. Russell, you still here! I suppose you will be packing up your trunks soon?" I heard afterwards that he informed Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, that I told him, "over a glass of whiskey," that the *Times*

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"intended to destroy the Union!" I never drank a glass of whiskey or of anything with him in my life! He also circulated the story that Mr. Seward informed Sam Ward, when he was going South with me *quasi* my secretary, that Mr. Lincoln did not intend to force the Union on the South if the people were unanimously against it. As I bade him good-bye, Count Gurowski, said: "If I were you, sir, I would return to Europe." "Will you come with me, Count?" He turned with an angry scowl and walked on.

If American generals were so cruelly assailed for failure they could not avoid, what had a foreign journalist who had the misfortune to describe it to expect? I had not long to wait before my anticipations of the reception my letter in the *Times* would receive were justified. "At last," exclaimed the *New York Times*, "the despatch of the correspondent, which was awaited with as much impatience as many a Presidential message, has reached our shore." The general conclusion was that I had spun out of my own brain a curious battle-piece as unsubstantial as "the stuff that dreams are made of." Even papers—such as the *New York World*—that spoke of the retreat as "the hideous headlong confusion beyond hope" joined in the cry. The *New York Tribune* spoke of "the whirlwind of panic that nothing could resist;" "how our troops, disorganized, scattered, maddened with terror for which they had no just cause, came pouring in amongst us, spreading the contagion of their fear. In the race from fancied danger all regiments and all divisions mingled. Even the sentiment of shame had gone! The agony of this overwhelming disgrace can never be expressed in words." The *Chicago Tribune* published a letter which stated, *tout bonnement*, that I "did not see the rout at all." The *Providence Journal* gave space to a letter from a gentleman who averred I was "at no time within sight or musket shot of the enemy," and that I "dreamed of what I wrote to the *Times*." The outburst of vituperation gathered strength and increased in vehemence as articles in the English press, founded on my report, came to hand.

Burnside, Barnard, Barry, commanding the artillery, and Sherman communicated with me, some by word, some in confidential notes. Officers, like Porter, assured me that they would vouch, if they could, in a court of justice that every word that I had

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written was true. General Meigs and Colonel MacComb, of the United States Engineers, visited me to express their regret. Captain Wright, aide-de-camp to General Scott, Commodore Wise, of the navy, and others, brought friendly messages. Lord Lyons, whom I saw every day, assured me that the opinion of thinking men in the States was no way influenced by the attacks to which "Bull Run Russell" was exposed.

An attack of malarial fever placed me in the hands of Dr. Miller, a great Virginian much esteemed in Washington, who ordered liberal draughts of mint julep with some subtle powder. Till I was able to go out I read no newspapers, and the moment I could leave my room I went to a reception at the White House. Mr. Lincoln had quite recovered his spirits. The President's manner was as cordial as usual, and he meaningly said: "You will see some of your Bull Run friends off duty; I think they will have to do without swords and shoulder-straps."

It was stated in a Philadelphia paper that McDowell sat up all night before Bull Run drinking, smoking, and playing cards, and that he was helplessly drunk during the battle. McDowell never drank wine, spirits, malt, tea or coffee. He never smoked or used tobacco in any form, nor did he play cards. Colonel Richardson officially accused Colonel Miles of losing the battle through drunkenness.

The battle at Bull Run had proved the mettle of the North. A great upheaval, wider, deeper, than that which had taken place when the North was aroused by the echoes of the bombardment of Sumter, rolled over the Union from the ocean to the Alleghanies.

I made McClellan's acquaintance the second day I was out—a soldierly, resolute-looking man, in the prime of life, somewhat Napoleonic in actual height and breadth, with a good head set firmly on square shoulders. His features regular and prepossessing; a short, thick moustache concealed his mouth; his brow was small, contracted, and furrowed; his eyes deep-set and anxious. Conqueror of Garnett, captor of Pegram, he was now the man on horseback—"the young Napoleon," whom the President called "George" and trusted to the utmost.

He had not been called from the plough, like Cincinnatus, but he had been summoned by the war from a railway office to take command of the army in the field.

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He had set to work with a will at reconstructing a creation, but he could not obey the order of the people, "On to Richmond." McClellan made one diplomatic move soon after he arrived at the capital. He invited the newspaper correspondents at Washington to come and discuss their position with him. They flocked in masses, and he then and there drew up a treaty of peace and amity with the many-headed monster. Editors and correspondents were to abstain from printing anything which could give aid or comfort to the enemy, and in return the government and the authorities would give facilities for obtaining and transmitting intelligence suitable for publication, particularly of Federal successes.

Every day increased my unpopularity, which was not unattended by personal danger, for it had reached the army. On the 1st of September (when partridge shooting opens), I was passing an earthwork near the Long Bridge, when a fellow shouted, "Bull Run Russell! you shall never write Bull Runs again," and levelled his rifle. I at once rode round into the fort and called for the sergeant of the guard, who arrested the man. He said: "It was a joke; I wanted to frighten Bull Run Russell." But as the rifle was capped and at full cock, and his finger was on the trigger, I did not quite see the fun of it.

The same day the government was cheered by the news of Butler's successful attack on Pamlico Sound. New heroes started up on distant battlefields. Poor General Scott was quite forgotten. He was still Commander-in-Chief of the army and affected to direct its movements. *Stat nominis umbra.* I saw him almost every day, always in uniform, with yellow lapels and yellow sash, walking slowly between his two aides-de-camp, unnoticed save now and then, when some passer-by would stop and say to a friend: "Old Fuss and Feathers does not look so happy to-day, I think." It struck me General McClellan ought to have been across the river with his army, but his headquarters were established in the house of Captain Wilkes at the corner of President Square, and there he transacted all his military business aided by General Marcy, his father-in-law, Chief of his Staff, Van Vliet, and others, with his Staff. A little bird whispered to me that McClellan had good reasons for remaining close to the President and the politicians. The new Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Potomac was warned that his absence from

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Washington, even though he only went across the river, would encourage the enemy. Montesquieu taught long ago that faction and intrigue are the cancers which eat into the body politic of a republic and they were rife enough just now around the President.

On the 3d of September I rode out to the Chain Bridge to join an early reconnaissance. At Falls Church I was stopped by a picket, the officer of which refused to recognize General Scott's pass. I said, "But is he not Commander-in-Chief?" "Well," said he, "I believe that is a fact. But you must argue the point with McClellan! he is our boss at present." I turned to go back by the upper road. I there came across Mr. Lincoln, in a loose gray shooting coat and long vest, seated in the veranda of a farmer's house, "letting off" his jokes to the officers round, apparently indifferent to the Federal flag flying in sight from Munson's Hill. He waved his hand to me and called out: "I hope you like the boys over there. We are brightening up, you see!"

As it would not suit me to be stopped by every sentry or picket, I went to General Scott when I came back the day I was stopped, and was told that the pass was perfectly valid, "as the Lieutenant-General commanding the army was senior to every officer and could only have his pass revoked by the President." With a memorandum to that effect from Colonel Cullum in writing, I went to General McClellan's headquarters, where there was a council of war. Major Hudson, of his staff, told me that General McClellan thought it would have been much better if General Scott had given me a new special pass; but, as he had thought fit to take the present course on his own responsibility, General McClellan could not interfere;" from which I inferred that there were no very cordial relations between the headquarters of the Chief of the United States army and the headquarters of the army of the Potomac. Soon afterwards General Scott was retired from his command on his full pay, and General Halleck was summoned from California to strengthen the military cabinet at Washington.

In addition to the general unpopularity to which I was exposed, my friendly relations with Mr. Seward suffered. Senator Sumner, too, was chilly. The President, though he told me a story now and then, did not talk to me in the same open, unreserved way as was his wont. Indeed, what were they to do when

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there was a great outcry against Great Britain, the *Times*, and myself? The citizens of Philadelphia got up a petition to Mr. Seward to send me away, on the ground that I had been guilty of treasonable practices and misrepresentations in my letter dated August 10th, and a lecture by the Professor of Rhetoric was announced, the subject being myself, at which the President was invited to attend.

September was drawing to a close. It was quite plain that McClellan had no intention of making a movement against Richmond. He told me his commissariat was deficient—he had no cavalry, he had not sufficient artillery. His regiments were badly officered and he was weeding out, in constant reviews and inspections, the preposterous fellow who made epaulettes ridiculous. A short time back he told me to be ready at any moment to move. Now, he hinted that I might go away for the winter, if I liked. One day, when I went round the front with him and old Major-General Bell, of the "Royals," who had arrived from Canada, I was struck by the difficulty presented by the country where the Confederate army lay. As Bell said: "A General could no more handle his troops among these woods than he could direct the movements of rabbits in a cover." That seemed to be McClellan's view also, and he renewed his hints that he would take his time. So I left Washington and went to Illinois, to have some shooting with a friend, Captain Lamy. The Central Illinois Railway Company gave us a sleeping-carriage from Chicago, and we halted at a shunting station near the town of Dwight, under the guardianship of Colonel Foster. We enjoyed ourselves for several days among the prairie chickens, till, on an eventful Sunday morning, the 29th of September, we went out in a storm of rain. In the evening, I, "The Honorable Lord William Russell," was arrested in the name of the people of the Commonwealth of Illinois for "having, with a company of men and dogs, unlawfully assembled and, by firing shots, barking, and noise, disturbed the peace of the State of Illinois," and so was to be brought up to answer for the same before the magistrate of the town. The fun of the thing was that the informer who had applied for my arrest generally went out shooting every Sunday, and that it was a habit of the people thereabouts to shoot upon that day without let or hindrance. I, in fact, had not fired a shot at all. The next morn-

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ing a special engine took me off to Dwight, where the population assembled to give me a becoming, but not a warm, welcome. There, despite a most eloquent defence by Colonel Foster, I was fined half the maximum amount, according to law. I retired, after severe scoldings from old women in the crowd, from the Court House down the ladder by which I had reached it.

Next day, on opening the mail, which was chucked to us by the train as it passed, I was startled by the words, "Grand advance of the army! McClellan marching on Richmond! Capture of Munson's Hill! Retreat of the enemy! 30,000 men; their fortifications seized!" all in capitals. At eight o'clock that evening I started for Washington, which I reached on the 3d of October, to find all the world laughing at the wooden guns and Munson's Hill and at the pump which had been taken as a monster piece of ordnance. But there was an expedition to sail to Port Royal under the command of Burnside, and although the wife of a general, who commanded a division of the expedition, was allowed to accompany him, I could not obtain permission to do so. Burnside was willing, but he said my presence "must be sanctioned by the authorities."

As Mr. Seward had complained to a friend of mine that I had not been near him for a long time, I sought his intervention.

Mr. Seward did not refuse my request, but advised me not to leave Washington, as McClellan would certainly advance as soon as the diversion by Burnside had been made. There was no doubt that the army had been brightened up and solidified by McClellan and his officers, and when I took Mr. Butler Duncan, of New York, through the camps from Arlington to Upton's House by Munson's Hill to General Wadsworth's quarters, there seemed no reason why there should be any very long delay in testing the strength of the Confederate lines. Mr. Duncan was quite happy at what he saw, and expressed his belief that "the Union is all right," but, as I told him, "nothing looks so irresistible as your own bayonet until another is opposed to it." But McClellan did not stir.

At the end of December I was attacked by typhoid fever, which had made a general attack on the quarters of the army. Several officers, including McClellan, and many of the rank and file were on the sick list. On the last day of the year I was re-

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moved to New York, and remained till the end of January, when I made a tour in Canada, as there was no possibility for military operations on the Potomac, where deep mud, alternating with snow and frost, bound the contending armies in winter quarters. On the 1st of March I returned to Washington. Mr. Cameron had retired and Mr. Stanton had been appointed Secretary of War. He was exceedingly civil to me when I met him at Lord Lyons', and gave me a pass to go to the front.

McClellan was now about to take the field in earnest, and sent a message to me by the Comte de Paris to say he would have great pleasure in allowing me to accompany his headquarters. Colonel Neville and Colonel Fletcher of the Scots Guards, Captain Lamy, and myself were to be provided for by the Quartermaster General, Van Vliet, on board a headquarters' steamer. I was on the point of leaving to join headquarters at Fortress Monroe, when the Secretary of State, who had expressed his indignation that a "Republican General should have foreign Princes and foreign newspaper correspondents on his staff," exercised his authority. Waiting till General McClellan and General Marcy had left Washington, he sent two orders to General Van Vliet from the War Office :

"No. 1. That no person should be permitted to embark on board any vessel in the United States service without an order from the War Department.

"No. 2. That Colonel Neville, Colonel Fletcher, and Captain Lamy, of the British Army, having been invited by General McClellan to accompany the expedition, were authorized to embark on board the vessel."

General Van Vliet was very sorry. But he could not disobey. My mission terminated at once. I went on shore. Othello's occupation was gone. The President expressed his regret that he could not overrule the decision of his Secretary, and so in the first week of April, 1862, I returned from New York to England.

W. H. RUSSELL.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE PULPIT AND THE WAR.

THE relation of the pulpit to the events of contemporary experience has always presented a question which has divided the sentiment of the Christian Church. Those who have felt that the pulpit should deal freely and explicitly with such issues, in order that the Church might have its influence upon contemporary life, have often been forced to realize that the discussion of "current events" has sometimes resulted in a pulpit sensationalism that has robbed the Church of all serious influence whatever. On the other hand, those who have demanded a policy of reticence and aloofness, in the interest of the seriousness and weight of the Church's leadership, have often become so sensitive of practical applications that the Church is handed over to an experience of solitary detachment from the affairs of this present world; and she becomes nothing but an institutional generality—with a vague gospel about the "sinfulness of sin." In each case there is a total or partial loss of the very end which is held in view. The course which is advised in the interest of the influence of the pulpit contributes directly to the sacrifice of the social helpfulness of the Church.

This is a time when the pertinence of such considerations should be kept carefully and sacredly in mind. The present war is, in the clearest and noblest sense, the opportunity of the Church. It is the opportunity of the Church because it is the trial of the nation; a trial that will bring its strain not only to our military and financial equipment, but to the moral resources of the country. The results of such a conflict as the present are often, and in the long run, more essentially disastrous for the victors than for the vanquished. There is danger, as we proceed, that the real charges and the serious reasons of warfare will drop into the background, and that our military feeling will degenerate into a passion for spoil and a lust for mastery that will leave us, at the end, further than ever from the goal of our national aspiration. As time goes on, we may forget those considerations of humanity and those sentiments of international compassion which have moved us to intervene. We may forget our interests in Cuba in our rancour against the Spaniard; we may forget our interests in peace in that increasing thirst for domination which always comes with the success of arms; and the close of this struggle may find us, in consequence of all this, a little further from the spirit of compassion and from the proper genius of civilization than we were at the beginning. If this be so, neither Cuba nor America nor the world will be any the happier for this war. We need the elevation of the military ideal; we need to be constantly and seriously reminded of the real reasons for American intervention; we need to have it

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impressed upon us, in all wise and practicable ways, that this war is a war in the interest of peace; and who is to do all this? The yellow journalism will not do it. It will do all that may be done against it. We may depend upon the conservative press; we may depend upon the spirit and influence of our American homes; and upon the natural genius of our people; but we should also be able to depend upon the influence of the pulpit of the Christian Church. It is an hour for tact and judgment, for soundness of mind, for the prayerful and deliberate weighing of words. At the time of such a crisis in the development of the national character the privilege of service will be missed by the pulpit which speaks not at all; and it will be even more conspicuously missed by the pulpit that speaks with irresponsible and clamorous facility. But that privilege will be nobly and wisely used by the pulpit which shall speak—not to arouse excitement, but to purify and dignify the military passion of the moment.

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY.

REHABILITATED LEGISLATIVE UPPER CHAMBERS.

THERE is a striking parallel between the position of the House of Lords in the eighties, as compared with its position at the present time, and the present position of the Canadian Senate as compared with its position before the overturn in the constituencies at the Dominion General Election of 1896 which defeated the Tupper Government and placed the Laurier Government in office. Then, to all intents and purposes, the Senate at Ottawa was the most obviously useless legislative chamber in existence. Of its seventy-eight nominated members, all appointed for life, not more than ten were Liberals; and for seventeen or eighteen years the Senate had had a most insignificant and docile part in Dominion politics. It had done nothing but say ditto to the successive Conservative governments, headed by the late Sir John Macdonald, the late Sir J. C. Abbott, the late Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Sir Charles Tupper.

Except for the work the Senate discharges as a court in which divorce suits are tried, it might have dropped out of existence any time between 1878 and 1896 without causing even a jar in the legislative machinery of the Dominion. The public cared so little about it that the newspapers, Conservative as well as Liberal, usually ignored its debates. The Canadian editors would not trouble to tell off members of their Parliamentary staffs to report its proceedings. The Senate would have dropped into oblivion so far as the newspapers were concerned had it not drawn upon its contingent expenses fund for a reporter to attend its sittings and hand his reports to the Ottawa correspondents, free of cost to the newspaper publishers. This plan in the closing years of the Conservative regime alone saved the Senate from going unreported; and even with this plan and with the reports of the Senate costing the newspapers nothing, usually only the barest mention of the proceedings in the Senate found its way into the Canadian newspapers. The "stuff" coming from the Senate, to use the jargon of newspaper offices, was not regarded as worth the cost of telegraphing. Visitors seldom were seen in the Senate gallery; and so little of the Senate's proceedings were made public in the press, that up to 1897 it is doubtful if one Canadian in fifty could name ten of the seventy-odd Senators.

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The Senate was characterized as effete and useless by the Liberals who were in opposition, and the Conservatives had little to say in its behalf. This is how matters stood when the Laurier Government came into office. But at the end of the first full session of the Canadian Parliament elected in 1896, the position had been completely altered, and Liberal newspapers of standing and independence were admitting that at last the Senate was serving the purpose for which it was designed, and was exercising a check in the public interest on hasty and ill-considered legislation originating in the House of Commons.

The occasion for this admission from journals which had hitherto sided with the Liberals in their demand for a reform or for the abolition of the Senate was the rejection of a bill which would have incorporated the St. Lawrence pilots into a close corporation, not unlike some of the old trade guilds which exercised despotic powers in the English trading communities in the eighteenth century. But the Senate did more than this in the session of 1897. It rejected the bill of the Laurier Government for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway from Levis to Montreal, not on the ground that the extension was undesirable, but because of the nature of certain ninety-nine years' agreements made by the Government with two railway companies. A reading of the debates on the Intercolonial bill reported verbatim in the Canadian Hansards, warrants the statement that by so doing the Senate saved the Dominion from an unbusiness-like and doubtful bargain, if not from something to which a less pleasant term might be applied. The impression to this effect produced by the debates was more than confirmed in the session of 1898, when there was a Parliamentary inquiry at Ottawa into the bargains with the railway companies. Then a new agreement with the companies was submitted by the Minister of Railways, under which a saving of about a million dollars was effected, as compared with the terms of the agreement rejected by the Senate.

Following the inquiry at which the new agreement was made public, the Senate rejected the Government bill for the construction of a railway from the Stickine River to Teslin Lake, which the government designed to form part of a rail and water route to Dawson City. The Senate threw out this bill because, like the bargain in connection with the Intercolonial Railway of 1897, the bargain with the contractors for the Teslin Railway seemed to it improvident. Under this bargain, three and three-quarter million acres of land in the gold-bearing Yukon country, with other great advantages, were to be given to the contractors as compensation for building about 150 miles of narrow-gauge railway. The plea put forward by the government in justification of the enormous land grant was that the only firm they had negotiated with would not accept less, and that under any circumstances the bargain as to the mineral land was a gamble both for the government and the contractors. This was a poor and unstatesmanlike defence of what, on the face of it, seemed to be an extraordinary bargain, and the defence failed to carry any weight with the Conservative majority in the Senate.

After nearly twenty years of uselessness, the Senate has asserted itself, and in regard to at least one of its actions in the session of 1897, drew from some of its hitherto most persistent critics the admission that it had rendered a great public service. To-day by reason of its action on the Pilot's bill and on the Intercolonial Railway bill, the Senate stands in a better position in the public esteem than at any time in its history, and whenever

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the Liberals renew the agitation for the abolition of the Senate they cannot fail to be met with the precedents of the session of 1897 and 1898.

The Senate, as the Liberals who resent its action on the Teslin Railway bill assert, may have sanctioned many doubtful bargains without question, when the bargain originated with a Conservative Government. However that may be, if by actions like those of 1897-98, it raises the standard of Canadian politics, even if only for the lifetime of a single Liberal administration, it will have rendered excellent service to the Dominion, a service quite worth the five million dollars which the Senate is computed to have cost since Confederation.

The Intercolonial Railway bill, and as time will doubtless show, the Teslin Railway bill as well, are for the Senate at Ottawa what the Home Rule bill of 1893 was for the House of Lords. Without entering on a discussion of the wisdom or expediency of the bill for Home Rule for Ireland which Mr. Gladstone carried through the House of Commons of his last Parliament, it may now be taken that the General Election of 1895, with its unprecedented majority of 150 for the Unionists, is proof that the people of England endorsed the action of the House of Lords in throwing out the Home Rule bill, and also as proof of their satisfaction that the House of Lords existed to render so signal a service.

In the eighties, when the House of Lords was threatening the passage of the last of the three bills for extending the Parliamentary Franchise, it was easy to get up popular demonstrations all over England against the continued existence of a second chamber constituted as is the House of Lords. There are no demonstrations nowadays against the Lords, and the second chamber stands in a better position in the respect of the people of England than at any time since the Revolution of 1688. The House of Lords has rehabilitated itself; and if the Senate at Ottawa acts with as much discretion during the remaining three years of the existence of the Canadian Parliament as it has done up to the present time it also may rehabilitate itself and belie much that was said and written about it for twenty years onward from 1878, when the Conservatives entered on an unbroken tenure of office which lasted until 1896.

One obvious drawback will still remain to the existence of a second chamber in which the balance of power may be in the hands of men of the opposite political party to the Administration. Its existence may serve to lighten unduly and unconstitutionally the individual responsibility of the members of the majority in the House of Commons. It is doubtful whether the vote for Home Rule in the House of Commons in 1893 would have been as large as it was if on the division in the Commons had rested the fate of the bill. It is also doubtful whether the votes in the House of Commons at Ottawa in the session of 1897 for the Intercolonial Railway bill, and in 1898 for the Teslin bill, would have been, as they were, within one or two of the full strength of the Liberals in the Lower House, had it not been for the fact that the Senate was in existence and could be counted upon to throw out the bills. Politics, not statesmanship, dictates the actions of members of a Parliament or a Legislature who act in this cowardly way; but in many law-making bodies, politicians and not statesmen may predominate, and where party ties are close, and party discipline exacting and peremptory, there will always be found men who will unworthily shelter themselves behind an upper chamber.

EDWARD PORRITT.

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OUR EXPORT OF CORN.

THE average annual corn (maize) crop of the United States for the past ten years has exceeded 1,800,000,000 bushels. The average annual export for these ten years has been 53,000,000 bushels—less than three per cent. of the production. While several causes contribute to limit our export of this important crop, it is due to one cause far more than to all others combined —the ignorance of European peoples of the food value of corn. The following comparative table showing the food value of corn and other cereals was prepared by the chemical division of the Department of Agriculture, and may be accepted as correct :

	Hulled Oats.	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Corn.
Water	6.93	10.27	8.67	6.53	10.04
Ash	2.15	1.84	2.09	2.89	1.52
Oil or fat	8.14	2.16	1.94	2.68	5.20
Digestible carbohydrates	67.09	71.98	74.52	72.77	70.69
Crude carbohydrates	1.38	1.80	1.46	3.80	2.09
Albuminoids	14.21	11.95	11.32	11.33	10.46

It will be seen as a food for producing energy or heat or fat, corn stands in the very front rank; but, unfortunately, few European people know this, and yet fewer know how to prepare corn for food. Clearly the thing for us to do is to acquaint the people of breadstuffs-importing countries with the merits of corn and the proper ways of preparing it for consumption. Mr. Rusk, when Secretary of Agriculture, perceived this, and in 1890 he sent a special agent of his department to Europe, to see what should be done and could be done to increase the European consumption of corn. The work of the special agent received, generally, the hearty support of our diplomatic and consular representatives. A fair expression of their opinions of the proposed corn propaganda is found in the report to the State Department made by our Consul General at Vienna:

" There is room in Europe for the consumption of several hundred million bushels of American corn per year, much of it as food for human beings who do not now get enough to eat. All the known preparations of corn should be prepared, put on show and distributed as samples."

Anyone who has studied the subject will not doubt the correctness of the assertion that Europe could well consume several hundred million bushels of our corn each year, or the wisdom of the recommendation that the different ways of preparing corn for consumption and its palatability and merits as food be demonstrated to the European peoples. Secretary Rusk well understood this, and in a report on the use of corn in Europe in 1891, said: "I wish to emphasize the necessity for vigorously following up the efforts of this department by the individual or combined efforts of parties interested in the trade of this product." Undoubtedly the enterprise of private individuals can accomplish much, and they should co-operate with the department of agriculture; but the national government, working through its state and agricultural departments, is the proper agency to educate Europeans in the uses and virtues of corn. It has been proposed that the money now used in the free distribution of seeds (and which is almost universally condemned) be used to increase our export of corn by acquainting food-importing peoples with the food value and merits of this cereal. This proposition has been submitted to many farmers' meetings, and, so far as I have been able to learn, every one has given it a hearty, unanimous endorsement. The agricultural papers, without exception, I believe, favor

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the abandonment of the free seed distribution as now conducted and the use of the money to increase the foreign demand for our corn. It seems that all agree that the Department of Agriculture should keep abroad special agents, persons specially fitted for the work, to show European peoples how to prepare corn for food in the ways that make it most palatable and nutritious; and to show by lectures, distributing printed matter, advertising in periodicals, distributing samples, and by actual tests when possible, the food value of this grain. The Paris Exposition will furnish such an opportunity to acquaint the European nations with corn as a food as rarely presents itself, and which should certainly be improved. The Farmers' National Congress, at its last annual meeting, appointed a committee whose work is, in part, to increase the foreign demand for corn. This committee is composed of Miss Emma C. Sickles, Secretary National Pure Food Association; Mrs. ex-Senator Palmer, Mrs. Senator Kyle, John M. Stahl, Editor of the *Farmers' Call*, and Secretary of the Farmers' National Congress and Wm. H. Liggett, Dean of the Minnesota Agricultural College. This committee proposes the establishment at the Paris exposition of a "Corn Kitchen," wherein corn shall be prepared for food in the best ways, and the prepared corn be served free to all that may care to eat it.

The increase of our export of corn is an important matter. If we exported the corn we should, the domestic price of the crop would be increased at least five cents per bushel. As the cost of production would not be increased, the added price would be clear profit, hence the profits of our corn raisers would be doubled, and likely more. In his report on the use of maize in Europe, already referred to, Secretary Rusk said:

"Could we secure an advance of even five cents per bushel on an average for corn during the ensuing decade, which might well be done and still enable us to supply the foreign demand at a price far below that of other cereal foods of equal value, the result would be to add $1,000,000,000 to the value of this crop during that period."

That the advance of five cents per bushel in the price of corn, should European nations consume the corn they might easily take, is very moderate, will be seen when we consider that those nations are now buying our wheat in our markets at very nearly four times the price per pound that corn sells for; yet, as appears from the table herein given, corn is the equal of wheat, pound for pound, in food value. The Department of Agriculture says that "maize is fully equal in value as a food to any of the cereals, making up in its content of fat any deficiency which may be noticed in its nitrogenous matter and digestible carbohydrates." Intelligent and energetic effort ought, then, to be able to create such a foreign demand for it that, being equal in food value to wheat, pound for pound, the corn grower would get for his product at least five cents more per bushel than he gets now.

This increase would, in a very few years, amount to our present national debt. It would meet the interest charge on the present farm mortgage indebtedness of the entire country. It would more than pay every teacher in our public common schools. It is two and one-half times the value of the product of our fisheries. But secondary effects from the increased export would be even more important and beneficial. The congestion of our agricultural production would be materially relieved. Sending abroad only one-fifth of our present corn crop would bring to us *$150,000,000* every year in gold, the corn being figured at only the average farm price in gold of the past thirty years. All trouble about the exports of gold, all inquietude

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about our gold reserve, all difficulty about maintaining our standing as a gold nation, would be ended. If during the past five years we had been sending abroad only fifteen per cent. of our corn crop, there would probably have been no exports of gold, for the gold that paid for our corn would have exceeded that we sent abroad; and the panic and loss and business depression and shrinkage of values and dislocation of industries, so far as they were precipitated and intensified by the exports of gold and the consequent fears for our gold reserve and doubt of our ability to keep away from a silver basis, would have been avoided. If our export of corn were increased to twenty-five per cent. of the present crop, room would be made for the production each year of from $200,000,000 to $250,000,000 more of corn or other farm products, and this would successfully invite workers from the city, thus relieving the congestion there, while those that came to the farms would find healthful, profitable and independent employment while increasing our agricultural production by at least $200,000,000 per year. If to this were added the domestic production of the sugar we consume, which would each year add $100,000,0 0 more to the trade and gold balance in our favor, our agricultural industries would experience such a prosperity, and on a sure, solid gold basis, as they have never known before, even in the days of unsound inflation immediately following the war; and since the solid, enduring prosperity of all other industries must rest on a prosperous husbandry, our people of all classes and in all occupations would enjoy great and real prosperity; and at the same time our national credit and honor and financial resources would, by this happy condition and the legislation it would give the people disposition to have enacted, be put far beyond the doubt that has wrought such havoc, and which will threaten disaster as long as it exists.

JOHN M. STAHL.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

The great cities of our country are the centers for the manufacture of clothing under many varied conditions. The retail prices vary from figures at which it may seem impossible that anything has been paid for their manufacture, on the one side, to the extravagant prices paid by the wealthy on the other. As a necessary consequence the desire for cheap clothing of every kind has caused the competition to be so severe that hundreds, aye thousands, are working in the varied departments of the manufacture of clothing, for both men and women, at worse than starvation wages. With the high-priced goods we do not purpose to deal, for, as a rule, both the wholesale manufacturer, and the retail dealer, in these goods pay fair wages; but when we come to the wholesale manufacturers who supply what is called the general trade, varieties of practice and conflicting interests prevail. These cover the following points—the employment of middlemen or sweaters, insufficient wages, unsanitary conditions of manufacture. According to the practice in a large number of the wholesale houses, the cloth or other material (for these facts apply to every kind of garment made, is cut out in the shape of the garments required, with all necessary linings, etc. These are then given out to middle men or sweaters, the amount per garment or dozens of garments paid to the middleman being often a very fair wage. The middleman, or sweater, having accepted his contract, then either makes up the garments in his own sweat shop or gives them out to families living in tenement houses. The middleman or

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sweater who has clean, airy workshops, complying with the conditions of the factory act, and giving union wages, is an honest and legitimate tradesman. But, unfortunately, the larger number of the sweaters do not belong to this class, and their only desire is to have the garments made at the lowest possible price, so as to obtain for themselves the largest margin from their contract with the wholesale house. In a recent visitation of twelve sweat shops in one house in New York—a house consisting of six stories with two shops on each floor — the halls were found to be in a filthy condition, the stairs being filthy beyond description. The shops themselves were badly lighted, badly ventilated and filled with particles of dust flying about. In one of these shops some women were making buttonholes and others stitching in linings, and, on being questioned, admitted that they could not earn more than fifty to seventy-five cents or one dollar in a working day of fifteen hours. That shop was not paying Union wages. In this whole house there was no water supply or toilet conveniences, except in the basement; and all were in a horrible condition.

Some of the sweat-shops in this house were union shops, as far as wages were concerned; and here comes a question for the various clothing workers' unions to consider—whether they should not rigidly require good sanitary conditions in all places where union work people are employed. But the condition of these shops is not nearly as bad as that of those where work is done in a tenement house by a man and his family. The law prohibits the manufacture of clothing in any tenement house, except by the lessee of it and the immediate members of his family. This is construed often to mean an apartment of two rooms, with a husband, wife and family, varying from two to six children, with two or more boarders (men or women, as the case may be), who live, eat, sleep and work for fifteen or more hours a day in the horrible atmosphere which must necessarily result — the garments that are for manufacture being often used to sleep upon or to cover the miserable denizens of these rooms at night. Constantly cases of sickness, infectious and otherwise, prevail in these rooms, and the men and women employed receive wages that hardly enable them to obtain more food than bread and tea. Surely, with such conditions it is no wonder that disease and vermin should mysteriously enter into the homes of well-to-do families.

A public sentiment must be created of such a character as will make the wholesale and retail trade understand that such conditions will not pay. After a careful study of the problem, there seem to be only three solutions: The absolute abolition of the sweater or middleman; the requiring that all clothing shall be made in workshops under the same conditions as pertain to the manufacture of cloth, etc.; that union wages must be insisted upon.

There is not lacking practical experience to show that it is possible to bring about such results. A large wholesale ladies' clothing house in New York, the heads of which some two or three years ago were in active opposition to union organizations in the clothing trade, carried on the greater part of their business through middlemen and sweaters, have changed their methods, with much profit to themselves and gain to the purchaser.

The firm has three manufactories—two in New York and one in Connecticut. No goods are given out to tenement houses. The wages paid are the highest given, under Union regulations, in the trade. The rooms in their factories are very large, lofty, splendidly lighted, and contain all labor saving appliances in the working of sewing machines. But the three

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lower stories of the main building in New York is the one which will most interest the buyer. The firm came to the conclusion that by abolishing the middle-man and their relations with the retail trade and becoming retailers themselves, they would prevent that scattering of profit which entails a loss to the manufacturer, and an increase of cost to the purchaser. The total results of this new experiment may be summarized: better conditions and more pay for the workpeople; additional profit to the manufacturer and retailer (combined in one); and much lower prices to the purchaser. The assistants in the retail department all receive higher wages than those in similar establishments in the city.

We do not claim that all wholesalers should become retailers, or all retailers become wholesalers, but we are satisfied that the wholesale merchant, the retail dealer and the consumer will be largely benefited when the middleman or sweater is abolished. To carry out this object, the various clothing and garment workers are combining, so that in 1900 the middleman and sweater will be a thing of the past. To enable them to do this they will require the help of the public, who should, for self-interest and on sanitary grounds, endeavor to support them.

FRANCIS J. CLAY MORAN.

STRATEGICAL VALUE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

OUR foreign policy during the last few years illustrates the tenacity with which nations cling to traditional policies that have long outlived their usefulness, as well as the difficulty and slowness with which they rise to new conceptions of their interests.

The Monroe Doctrine has had for itself everything that could make a prejudice deep and strong—prescription, high authority and general consent. In carrying out its provisions we brought ourselves to the verge of war with our best customer—and for many reasons our most natural ally in the future—about an infinitesimal portion of the Continent of South America. At the same time, we have passively watched the ports of Asia being closed one by one to our trade by nations which are still chasing the Eighteenth Century *ignis fatuus* of establishing colonies for an exclusive and sole market.

Every port of South America is practically as near to Europe as it is to the United States, and in trading there we shall always be subjected to the fiercest competition with all our European rivals in trade. On the other hand, the coast of China, facing as it does our own Pacific Coast, is practically at our back door. If we guard it properly, nature will assure us almost a monopoly of trade with the greater part of the Continent of Asia. To compete with us European rivals are obliged to double either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, with all the delay and dangers of crossing the line twice, or else have recourse to the long and expensive route by the Suez Canal.

The configuration of China is such that its trade with other countries must be through its seaports. The general direction of mountain ranges in Asia, unlike those of Europe and America, is east and west; and, roughly speaking, the great Empire of China is enclosed by the Himalayas and the Thian Shan range. The several attempts that England has made to establish trade routes between the interior of China and India across the Himalayas have all failed and those few who like myself have succeeded in reaching China from Europe can testify to the impossibility of the tide of trade ever setting in the direction of Europe across the icy and impass-

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able ranges of the Thian Shans. The trade must flow with the Chinese rivers to the ocean.

Much has been said about the enormous future development of South America, and an impression exists that China has no such destiny. Few realise that China is yet a sparsely populated country. It is little more than one-third as thickly populated per square mile as the most sparsely populated part of Europe. It is not one-quarter as thickly populated as the most thickly populated part of Europe. I can confirm the testimony of other travellers as to the great extent of uncultivated land in its interior. Its immense mineral deposits have not yet begun to be developed, and it is said to contain the largest and finest deposit of coal yet anywhere discovered.

Contrary to the popular impression, the Chinaman is not a good business man. He is not an enterprising man. His sole idea in business is to turn his capital over rapidly and get quick returns in trade. The idea of laying out of the profits of capital for several years in order to drain marshes or irrigate wastes never occurs to him. The immensely increased trade that will result from the development of this country, should be ours. I believe there is a very pretty academic theory of economics, held by some Americans, that trade lines and routes should run north and south, on account of the greater variety of climates, and, therefore, of products to be exchanged on such lines. It is, nevertheless, a fact that in Europe, America and Asia, both by land and sea, the heavy trade-lines run east and west. It must also be remembered that in all parts of South America protective barriers will for many years be maintained against the admission of our goods, whereas China is now one of the few of the great countries which have a policy of free trade. Neglect and delay lost us a great part of our share of the South American trade. Europe has secured it. I do not wish to maintain that it is irretrievably lost to us; but, to profit by such an object lesson, it behooves us to guard our rights of trade in the almost virgin fields of China.

The Philippine Islands possess for the protection of our trade the three great essentials laid down by Captain Mahan for a strategic point at sea; first, position; second, strength; third, resources. Their position commands the channel of the China sea—the road to Europe. They would flank the communications between any European power and her colonies on the China coast with whom we were at war. Our cruisers, with them as a coaling station, could always infest the narrower passages of the Malay Archipelago. Their strength, if necessary, could be greatly increased in our hands, and the many straits and passes would make them difficult to blockade effectually if cut off from us by a superior naval force. The third great requirement—resources—would always be insured by their great population (estimated, 7,000,000), great size (an area of 114,326 square miles) and unsurpassed fertility. They have, besides, for us one accidental strategic advantage, almost equidistant as they are from both Singapore and Hong Kong, which would always enable us to co-operate with England, our natural ally to defend the trade that Anglo-Saxon enterprise has won. Their importance cannot be overestimated. Germany, for the sake of a strategic position on the sea, gave an empire in Africa for a rock in the German Ocean.

TRUXTUN BEALE.

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